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ART. I.—THE RELATIONS OF ISLAM TO CHRISTIANITY, AND OF CHRISTIANITY TO CIVILIZATION.

THE political condition of the Moslems has been more influenced by their religion than that of Christian States, because the Civil Law is based upon, and partly laid down in, their Scripture, like that of the ancient Hebrews; but the Gospel is not a code of Civil Law; it inculcates only religious and moral duties; therefore it became more easy to disregard and even to transgress its precepts in politics. It certainly does not sanction religious persecutions and wars, horrible punishments of culprits, and other acts flagrantly contradicting the spirit of it, which have been and are still being perpetrated wherever Christian nations obtain ascendancy; for all that, however, they have gradually emerged from barbarism and attained civilization. This, as well as the fact that the ancient Babylonians, Egyptians, Hindus, Greeks and Romans had developed a high state of culture and left monuments of literature, architecture, science and art, at which even the present age looks with amazement, shows that even so beautiful a religion as that of Christ is not a *sine qua non* of civilization, although but few impartial men will deny that it has been favourable to the development of it, as attained by the most advanced nations up to this time. If, then, Europeans could so accommodate the tenets of their religion to their political and social exigencies as actually to transgress them whilst professing to adhere to them, and in spite of the lapse of ages, evolve a high civilization from the chaos of barbarism, it would seem probable that Moslems could do so with their's likewise. The brilliant times of the Khalifates of Bagdad and Cordova, when the Moslems were conquerors and representatives of civilization, have long ago passed away, and in lieu of dictating the law to other nations, they must accept it from them, must associate with them, and must learn from them. A state of isolation means ruin, and the time has arrived when the texts repugnant

to progress, such as those concerning the duty to wage war against infidels, to despise them, to take blood-vengeance, &c., must gradually fall into abeyance. The belief, that Moslems must abjure Islam if they desire to enjoy the state of civilization possessed by Christians, is erroneous, and the idea that Islam is so fossilized as not to admit of as many modifications in favour of progress, as the Gospel has been made to undergo for sanctioning evil practices, is likewise erroneous. So far as individual cases are concerned, we can point to men who are perfectly educated, and therefore moral and civilized, and good Moslems, nevertheless, although perhaps they are not considered such by their less advanced co-religionists. But that Islam is incapable of change ought to be evident also from the multitude of its sects, which are as numerous as those of the Christians; but reforming and progressive sects are what are now needed. If the question—why so many abuses and vices flourish in otherwise highly civilized Christian countries, is met by the reply that in the defective historical development of those States, the Christian principle had never attained complete dominion, might it not be asserted with equal reason, that the stagnation and decay of Mahommadan countries is owing to the fact of the purity of Islam having declined by the multiplication and deterioration of sects which have brought on the present state of disunion and weakness?

Considering Islam from an entirely modern point of view, too much stress had been laid on its defects. Forgetting that the Arabs established the first universities in Europe, which brought on the revival of learning, writers accuse Islam of being an impediment to civilization, whereas it has strenuously promoted it. Far-seeing sovereigns and governors of provinces ordered the construction and maintenance of commercial roads, and paid much attention to canals; agriculture and trade flourished, and whole tracts, which had become barren, were transformed into cultivated fields. In Sicily the Arabs paid much attention to the cultivation of olives, and introduced also that of cotton and sugarcane. In Spain the plains of Granada, Murcia and Valentia were provided with reservoirs and aqueducts for irrigation, so that the country produced food in abundance. The luxury prevalent in the palaces of wealthy men imparted great vitality to handicrafts. The provinces of the Khalifate of Bagdad vied with each other in the production of costly silk-stuffs. The Eastern provinces furnished cloths of wool, cotton, and silk, but Bagdad excelled in gold-embroidery. Western Asia produced leather-work; the glass industry flourished in Syria, and the manufacture of paper in Egypt. Commerce prospered, caravans travelled by land in every direction, whilst ships laden with merchandise sailed to India. Nevertheless, whilst all this industrial and commercial activity

was being developed, the military profession held the first rank, all others being considered less honourable.

The most brilliant period of the history of the Arabs was in Europe the epoch of the Dark Ages, really an epoch of ignorance and of servitude. When those Christian knights who were as brave as they were ignorant, followed millions of armed pilgrims to the East, led by religious enthusiasm, they imagined they were going forth to fight barbarians scarcely worthy to fall under their noble swords. But they had to deal with a nation which was as valiant as it was enlightened, and Arab civilization triumphed over that formidable attack.* The first crusade under Peter the Hermit was a miserable failure, resulting in his flight to Constantinople, and in the extermination of the whole army. The succeeding ones were better organized, and established among much rapine and bloodshed, the precarious tenure of several fortified places and of Jerusalem, which the crusaders held for nearly a century, when they lost the footing they had obtained in the Holy Land, a footing which they were able to retain only by means of a constant supply of soldiers, treasure and victuals from England, France, Germany, Hungary and Italy. The Christians, however, brought back from the East ideas that germinated in Europe, and afterwards concurred in the intellectual revival. This was the best result of the crusades, and it bears most eloquent testimony to the providential direction which social history underwent in Europe from that time. At first the crusaders condemned everything they saw, but when they became better acquainted with their surroundings, they judged differently. This may be gathered from the historians of the crusades, the first of whom speaks of everything Turkish as diabolic, whilst the later ones became more reconciled to the Moslems, and mention Nuruddin, Saladdin and others with evident respect. They not unfrequently represent Moslem warriors as models of chivalry and magnanimity, worthy to be imitated by Christians. The crusaders learnt from the Moslems that people could be monotheists without being Christians, and from the Byzantines that there could be Christians without believing in the Pope. Thus the path for a new and freer way of thinking was opened; the European world was gradually being awakened from the numbness into which it had lapsed after the destruction of the old Roman civilization, and acquired seeds for developing a new one. It is well known how enlarged and changed the minds of individuals becomes after foreign travel, but at the time of the crusades, whole nations were on their travels. After the sombre night of the tenth century, a fresh and brilliant morning dawned on Europe. States were put in order; education encouraged; commerce and agriculture

* Prize Essay on the Reciprocal Influence of European and Mahammadan Civilization. By E. Rehatsek, Bombay, 1877, p. 64.

revived, and human energy became active in the path of progress. From that time European nations continued steadily to advance in civilization, making the gospel of work their chief pursuit, whilst the adherents of Islam, gradually adopting that of relaxation, soon fell back in the race, and became so powerless during the lapse of several centuries, that the Khalifates were all broken up, and other powers supplanted them which are at present themselves in a state of decay : Turkey has lost some of its fairest provinces ; Persia has become almost a vassal of Russia ; Algiers and Tunis are in the hands of the French ; Egypt is occupied by the English, and since the fall of the Moghul Empire, when India became a British possession, the Moslem population has stood aloof, in proud and stubborn isolation, from all the advantages which education offered to it in common with the other inhabitants of this country. To such a degree has this isolation been carried, that Government situations have, to the almost total exclusion of the Moslems, been bestowed upon others. This has gone on till recent times, and they are now beginning to cast off their lethargy ; they have at last perceived that they must become utterly ruined unless they conform to the exigencies of the present age.

Nobody who is acquainted with the contents of the Qorân will deny that it is full of admonitions inculcating virtue. As to the absurdities of Moslem scholastic theology, at which the finger of scorn is often pointed, they existed, and to a certain degree still exist, also in Christian theology. It is also admitted that in all Mahammadan sects the veneration of God is enforced, and that the behaviour of the people in their mosques is just as exemplary as that of Christians in churches. Travellers, however, infer that much of the piety thus displayed is only the effect of habit and education, mixed with a good deal of hypocrisy ; but alas ! for poor human nature, such is the case also among ourselves. According to the well known verses of Locker :—

We eat and drink and scheme and plod
And go to church on Sunday,
And many are afraid of God
And more of Mrs. Grundy.

The prohibition of intoxicating drinks in the Qorân acted, and continues to act, beneficently upon the followers of Islam, there being no such habitual and wholesale intemperance among them as is general with the lower classes of the town-population of Europe, where it became necessary to establish societies for counteracting the inducements to that vice, which are commonly encountered in every street and alley.

Polygamy is no doubt an evil ; it is, however, not so generally practiced as some travellers assert, and the Qorân does not enjoin nor recommend it, but only permits it, although the prophet himself indulged in it. If polygamy be a pleasure, it is

bought dearly, because constant domestic squabbles are almost unavoidable ; they act, however, as a deterrent upon others, and the poor who are unable to support several wives, naturally abstain from this licence, as well as nearly all the educated Mahammadans who have become enlightened by contact with European civilization and appreciate the advantages of monogamy. Mormonism, the excrescence of Western civilization, shows that polygamy is not so utterly incompatible with it as some authors imagine. The facility of divorce also, so much objected to, and considered to be so detrimental to family life among the adherents of Islam, has of late been augmented to a prodigious extent in Europe as well as in America. This innovation has not come from the East, but it is certain that the latter received the institution from the West, which is at present looked upon as something abominable. The Khalifs of Damascus obtained eunuchs for their harems, first, from the Byzantine empire, and those of Cordova from France ; we ought likewise not to forget that up to very recent times, the chief singers in the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome were eunuchs.

The institution of slavery, no doubt, has contributed, in connection with other deleterious influences, to lower the morale of all who patronized it, but it could be no very great obstacle to civilization, as some of the most advanced nations—such as the English and the Americans—abolished it only during the present century. Moreover, the domestic slavery of the East is perfect bliss in comparison with the horrors of plantation life in Jamaica, Louisiana &c., now happily extinct. The hardships of African slaves, which were sometimes terrible, generally ceased as soon as they were sold into families whose members they became, whilst those of the West Indian and South American human cattle began with their working in gangs on plantations under the lash of overseers. In Virginia there are white men still living, whose occupation is gone, and consisted till the war, in the breeding and selling of negro children, for exportation and sale in other States of the Union, for plantation labour. The Southerners claimed for all that to be as civilized as other nations ; and not only themselves but even their clergy were slaveholders, who defended the iniquity to the last, quoting scripture and the practice of the patriarchs to uphold it, although among the latter the mildest form of domestic slavery alone prevailed, regulated by paternal authority and not by the lash. Nevertheless Europeans often wonder how it comes that it is so difficult to convince Mahammadans of the wickedness of slavery. Most of them know only of slaves as servants in households, but when they hear of African man huntings, and Turkoman kidnappings, they naturally recoil with horror from such cruelties just as Europeans do.

To insist that Islam is an intolerant religion because Christians have been, and are sometimes still, persecuted in Mahammadan countries, is branding Christinity with the same stigma. Religious wars were undertaken against the Moslems; a contest of 30 years raged on the continent between Catholics and Protestants; men and women were burnt in England as well as in other portions of Europe, because they happened to differ from the stronger party on certain dogmas,—they were called heretics and burnt. What shall we say of the so called Jew-baiting, the anti-Semitic movements in Russia, Germany, &c, which is by no means extinct?

When we consider the great power of the Khalifs, and the splendour of other courts after they had passed away—especially those of Persia and Turkey which flourished after them—and ask ourselves what force it was that gave rise to them, the reply can be no other than that it was the force of Islam which welded the Arab tribes into one nation, led them out of their deserts to overthrow dynasties and to found new empires. This spiritual force had declined so little during more than four centuries that, after 1258 when Hulagu had sacked Bagdad and put an end to the Khalifate of the Abasides, the Mongols were gradually converted to the religion of the people they had conquered and became Moslems! Such conversions are not on record in modern times, but it is well known that even at the present time, Mahammadan missionaries are still very successful in Africa, in that Arab traders who penetrate into the interior frequently induce whole tribes to make a profession of their Faith. In China the province of Yunan is wholly Mahammadan, whilst others number many thousands of them. In British India the Moslem population amounts to forty millions and is proselytizing. All this, however, does not imply political power, because, as such, Islam has become disinterested; and during a series of centuries its professors have fallen back in the progress of civilisation. If it be asked why the civilization of Islam has declined, the reply is, because it was from its very beginning not a healthy civilization, the production of a natural development. It did not rise slowly and steadily from small beginnings, but sprang into existence suddenly, as it were by sorcery. The splendour of its towns was not the fruit of centuries of labour, but the result of a great usurpation by war, and, with the cessation of conquests, decay set in.

Those Mahammadan princes who encouraged agriculture, commerce and industry, could alone lay a firm foundation of civilization, and some had done so; but their number was small in comparison to those who cared only for conquest and plunder.

Causes of the decay of
Islamitic culture.

Among those who did not, despotism prevailed, the people were oppressed and the wealth displayed by the courts, the

nobles, and the officers, was all extorted from the lower classes, who appeared to live and to work only to support the luxury of their masters. The population lived in wretched houses built of mud-bricks dried in the sun, while the aristocracy revelled in palaces of stone and marble. This is the reason why a few ruins only remain on the sites of some of the most populous ancient cities. The *débris* of a palace or of a mosque were alone left standing after a war, an inundation, or a fire; the rest of the town being all converted into mounds of earth. Such was the case not only during the reign of the Khalifs, but also of the Sasanians and even the Assyrians: the misery and poverty of the cottages which surrounded the palaces has been forgotten, whilst the pomp and magnificence of the latter has been recorded in history.

It would be unfair to compare the industry and trade of the times of the Khalifs with the achievements of modern times; but admitting that both flourished, it is certain that they served rather to provide for the luxuries of the wealthy and prosperous upper classes, than the needs of the general population. The brief duration of Mahammadan culture also shows how frail the foundation was upon which it had been based. Every war and every change of dynasty, as well as every period of reckless administration, was fraught with the danger of impoverishing large tracts, whilst the devastations of war or catastrophies of nature required great efforts to bring them again under cultivation. The insecurity of tenure, and the paucity of the wants of a small landholder or farmer in the East, both deterred him from exerting himself beyond his indispensable necessities then, as they do even now. The Mongol invasion which destroyed the Khalifate of Bagdad has been sometimes considered as the chief calamity that befell Mahammadan civilization, but history shows that the devastating contests waged by the Moslems against each other had a very large share in reducing their power, maiming their civilization, and gradually bringing on their present decrepitude.

When the Khalifate was broken up into smaller states, it seemed as if the latter would become the possessors of a more lasting civilization. In the capitals of the new kingdoms, Mahammadan civilization appeared to have taken a new lease of life; but the old system of robbery was renewed, and its decay progressed with double speed after a brief period of bloom.* On an average, and on the whole, the old destructive influences continued to work with unabated force, whilst the beneficial ones diminished. Unrestricted intercourse, which had formerly promoted commerce and

* Der Islam in seinem Einfluss auf das Leben seiner Bekenner. Von Johannes Hauri. Leiden 1882. p. 189 seq.

industry now ceased to exist; every sovereign attempted to fill his empty treasury by imposing high import and export duties upon every article of it. Inducements to work disappeared more and more; old and imperfect tools were used in handicrafts. While a spirit of enterprise began to animate all classes of the population in Europe, and one new invention after the other was being utilized for the benefit of industry, conceit hindered the Moslems from acknowledging foreign progress and adopting the improvements of it. Accordingly, Eastern industry was soon outstripped by Western in every direction. Already in the eleventh century European broadcloth was imported into the East, as being more solid and more conscientiously worked than home manufactures. Cotton and woollen stuffs, glass-ware, even silk-textures and gold brocade had been imported, even before Chenchiz and Timur had destroyed the old seats of those industries. Enquiry for European goods increased constantly. The Turkish Empire had, even during its greatest prosperity, recourse to the products of Western industry. European artizans, armourers, and cannon-founders were extremely welcome in all Moslem States. Even Abbas I, to whom Persia was at the beginning of the seventeenth century indebted for a revival of trade and industry, sent ambassadors to Venice, who brought back for him cuirasses, razors, silk stuffs, cloths, mirrors, gilded glass-ware and similar articles.* Already for more than a century there was not a house or a tent in Muhammadan Asia, to which Western products had not found admittance. In more recent times the Islamitic world has been compelled to acknowledge the superiority of Western industry in every department. The looms of European manufactures caused all the oriental ones to stand still, and manual labour, unable to dispense with obsolete tools, found it useless to compete with machinery.

In vain do Moslem sovereigns endeavour to imitate European industries, because the political and social basis necessary for their prosperity is wanting. Nusreddin, the present Shah of Persia, erected, at an immense outlay, manufactories according to European models. But the employés and overseers, accustomed to fraud, vied in robbery with the badly and irregularly paid labourers; the machines imported from Europe were spoiled and could not be repaired, so that the manufactories had to be closed after a brief period of activity. Wherever railways, steamers, and other European means of communication have been introduced, they have benefited European merchants only, Moslems being unable to appreciate these advantages. Such, however, is by no means the case in British

* Vámbéry. *Der Islam in 19 Jahrhundert*, p. 203.

India, and it would be a libel upon our Mahammadan firms, who entertain branches in England, China and Africa, to make any assertion of this kind; but they have constantly before their eyes the European houses of Bombay, Calcutta and other Indian commercial centres, whose example they profitably follow. Not only in commercial but also in other affairs, the Indian Moslems are beginning to show that they are, under British influence and example, quite able to cast off their lethargy, and to take their share in the advancement of civilization, although the masses are yet plunged in torpor and lagging behind in civilization; but is not this also the case with the peasantry in many parts of Europe? In Persia, and even in Turkey, the case of the followers of Islam is not as hopeful as in India. Their fertile tracts of country remain uncultivated, cities are in ruins, and the people sunk in barbarism. In Persia, Shah Abbas I. endeavoured to promote civilization by constructing roads, building bridges, encouraging commerce and fostering industry, but his successors allowed everything to decay again. During the reign of Shah Abbas, Ispahan was the capital city, and numbered six hundred thousand inhabitants, but now it has only sixty thousand, and its splendid edifices are only ruins. Nusreddin, the present Shah, is also making attempts to improve the country, and must have derived some profit from his visit to Europe, but many of his courtiers place obstacles in the way of progress, which, considering the backward state of the country, and its exhaustion by terrible famines, could at the best be but very slow.

In the extinction of agriculture by systematic oppression of the laboring population, the Turks have brought about sad changes, as under their dominion the most fertile regions have been ruined. They have transformed glorious tracts into deserts and the best portions of Asia Minor are now uncultivated. Natural harbours which were in former times great emporia of commerce, have now become miserable fishing villages; the once fertile plains at the mouths of rivers are morasses. Ruins, everywhere, bear witness to the prosperity of former times, and cemeteries alone mark the spots once occupied by populous villages. Nomadic Turkomans burn down forests that provender may grow from the ashes for their goats and camels. Every severe winter is the cause of a famine. In fertile Northern Syria, which was for centuries the scene of a highly civilized life, Turkish supremacy has so reduced the population that it is at present not greater than if it had settled on ruined sites. In the beginning of the eighteenth century Aleppo was surrounded by three hundred villages; at the end of it, only fourteen remained. The silk fabrics which were manufactured in the town, and gave employment to

thirty thousand looms, is now, wherever required, supplied from Europe. Arab and Kurdish cattle now browse in the localities where formerly luxuriant gardens flourished. When the Turks conquered Cyprus from the Venetians in 1570, it contained fourteen hundred flourishing towns and villages; a hundred years later this number dwindled to one-half, and after that period a great portion of the island remained uncultivated. Happily the island of Cyprus has, since the Russo-Turkish war, fallen into British possession, and signs of rapid improvement are already beginning to manifest themselves.

The author of "*Der Islam in seinem Einfluss*," &c.* only expresses a fact, acknowledged by all unprejudiced persons, by admitting that the religious enthusiasm of the Moslems formerly exerted a beneficent influence upon all branches of intellectual life, and that the Qorân gave an impulse, in some measure, to popular education, as well as to the cultivation of theological, legal, and grammatical studies; it also awakened an interest in philosophical questions and scientific pursuits in general. The injunction to wage war against the infidels which procured dominion to the Moslems, enlarged also their views, created new wants, and caused the exact sciences to flourish among them; the wealth accruing to the Moslems by their conquests, and the feeling of security, which the consciousness of being destined to conquer the world entailed, allowed poetry and art to attain a high degree of perfection. Whilst the author admits that whatever intellectual life yet exists in the Mahammadan world, perhaps Persia alone excepted, it is indebted for it to Islam, he also asserts that to it also all the evils which were from the beginning inherent to the Mahammadan world, must be ascribed. Hence it would appear that according to him this religion is the only source of good and at the same time of evil, as if no other influences in the world were every moment at work to produce them, not only in the Mahammadan but also in the Christian world. When a drunken sailor is pointed out to us as an example of what Christianity is, we at once turn round and say that our religion does not countenance intoxication, and it may be presumed that a Moslem would likewise demur to see his religion made responsible for the crimes of its transgressors. Considering that in Baghdad, in Cordova and in Cairo, very heterodox opinions prevailed during certain epochs, and that philosophical disputations were often countenanced, the assertion is untenable that insurmountable barriers to all true science, and to every free movement of the intellect, are opposed wherever the Qorân

* P. 233.

is the basis of religion and of law. Judging Islam from an entirely modern standpoint, and comparing the civilization it had reached with the attainments of the present age, the author arrives at the conclusion that although Islam may yet for a long time be able to elevate barbarous nations to a certain degree of culture, it will never again produce a genuine culture of the mind, and that if beginnings of it were, under favourable conditions, to manifest themselves, the awakened life would, after a brief season, again merge into the sleep of death. The author might as well have omitted to allude to the mission of Islam of elevating barbarous nations, by which he probably meant those of the interior of Africa, and might have mentioned the hopeful fact, that wherever European comes in contact with Muhammadan civilization, it raises it to a higher level, and abundantly repays the debt incurred towards the latter, when it imparted, during the Dark Ages, the first and great impulse to the revival of learning in Europe. The dominions of the Nizam are among the best administered native States of India, and the late Sir Salar Jung, whose career of utility and reform was cut short by death, is considered to have been one of the greatest statesmen of the day not only in this country but also in Europe.

The founder of Christianity has emphatically asserted that this kingdom is not of this world, and his prediction has been as emphatically fulfilled; for although Christian nations are the foremost in civilization, they flagrantly violate the precepts of their religion in all their political transactions, by waging unrighteous wars, by committing oppressions and every kind of fraud; accordingly, theirs is not a Christian civilization. It, therefore, follows that in order to attain in course of time a civilization like that of Europe, Moslems must not necessarily

Results of the attempts to convert Moslems to Christianity. become Christians, the more so as among the latter some of the highest representatives of the intellect of our century have openly renounced any belief in their ancestral faith, and Johannes Hauri, the author of "Der Islam," &c., although himself a Christian clergyman, is of opinion that some tenets of our religion will have to be modified to suit the advanced state of our race. Might not such be the case also with the faith of Islam, and might not the reforming sects, the Wahibis for instance, so interpret certain passages of the Qorân as not to clash in the least against the requirements of modern civilization and progress?

We shall now give the poor results attained in the attempts made to convert the Moslems to Christianity, and shall do so as far as possible according to the views of the author just alluded to, in order to show that he does not share the Utopian

expectations entertained by some ardent missionaries. Let us first give a historical sketch of what has been done from the eighth to the present century:—

There exists a "Disputation of a Saracen, with a Christian," written by John of Damascus in the eighth century, and his disciple Theodorus Abucara, continued the controversy but without any result. The Arabian Christian, Al Kindi, (of whose book Sir W. Muir lately gave an English account, and which is also procurable here in the original, at the depôts of the Bible and Tract Societies) who wrote an apology of Christianity against Islam, fared no better, although he was much respected at the court of Mâmûn, the enlightened Khalif, whom fanatic Mahammadans detest. In the eleventh century Samonas, Archbishop of Gaza, held religious disputations between Moslems and Christians, according to the custom formerly in vogue at Baghdad and in other towns. In these controversies the arguments were not drawn from religious books but from reason. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries several Christian divines, and among them Alanus ab Insulis, rector of the Paris University, and after him the Bishop of Auxerre, composed treatises against Islam, but without the least effect.

In the thirteenth century St. Francis attempted, during the siege of Damietta by the crusaders, to convert the Sultan Kamel. He proposed to terminate the controversy by an ordeal, and challenged the Sultan to kindle a large fire, which he would enter with a Moslem priest. When the Imam, who was present, slunk away, Francis offered to pass alone through the fire if the Sultan would promise to make a profession of Christianity with his subjects, in case he should come out unhurt. The Sultan rejected the proposal and dismissed him unharmed. The other attempts of Francis as well as those of St. Dominic and of his pupils effected just as little. In the same century Dominicus, the general of the order of Dominicans, founded schools for oriental languages in Tunis and in Murcia. His great contemporary, Thomas Aquinas, attacked Moslem theology and philosophy in an extensive philosophical work the "Summa Contra Gentiles." Raimundus Lullus of Majorca preached as a Fransiscan to the Moslems. He had invented a peculiar method, the "Ars Magna," to make the conceptions and dogmas of Christian truth plain and convincing to the intellect by means of physical representations. After fruitless attempts to induce the Pope to establish colleges and missionary schools for Moslems, he preached in Tunis, but paid for his boldness by being thrown into prison, and escaped death only through the intervention of a Moslem, who represented to the Sultan, that if a Moslem were in this way to go among

Christians, he would be deemed worthy of high honours by his co-religionists. In consequence of his solicitation, the Council of Vienna decreed in 1312, the founding of chairs for oriental languages in Paris, Salamanca, Oxford and other towns.

In 1345, a monk penetrated into the great mosque of Cairo and challenged the Sultan to be converted. His speech was so powerful, that a renegade from Christianity recanted, but further fruits did not ensue. During the following centuries literary controversies were continued, and a considerable number of writings against Islam, by western and eastern Christians, were published; but as they took no effect whatever, there is no need of mentioning any of them.

The Raimundus Lullus of the nineteenth century, is no doubt Henry Martyn, who came to India as a chaplain in the service of the East India Company, and afterwards went to Shiraz where he produced a Persian New Testament, with the aid of a learned native. He died before he could reach England. His labours remained fruitless as far as conversions are concerned, as well as those of the Basel Missionary Society, among the Circassians, whose activity was cut short by an Ukaz in 1833.

Missionaries have converted some Moslems in this country, but their efforts remain almost totally fruitless in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Small congregations of converted Moslems actually exist in the Punjab and in the Central Provinces, amounting perhaps, to three hundred persons in all. The number of educated men among them is very inconsiderable, but Imadeddin, who wrote in 1866, a justification of his conversion, the example of which was followed by others, attained some celebrity, as well as his learned brother Khaireddin who had likewise become a Christian and preached to Moslems, but who suddenly recanted again after being a Christian seven years.

If in a country like India, where not the least enmity is shown by Government to converts from Islam to Christianity, and where they frequently gain material advantages by their change of religion, conversions take place so seldom, it is no wonder that in the Turkish empire, where Islam holds supreme sway also as a political power, the prospects of conversion are even more gloomy. According to the statement of 1878 by a Missionary,* the positive results of Missions among Moslems in the Ottoman empire amount to not more than three converts in Constantinople, two in Cairo, and three in Jerusalem; whilst a Missionary Report from Egypt, of the same year, speaks of three converts, as of a "special blessing."

The facts just adduced show, that, a few exceptions apart,

* Rev. T. P. Hughes. Proceedings of the General Conference on Foreign Missions, 1878. London 1879, p. 327.

the Christian church was, down to our times, not hindered by culpable remissness, but by a conviction of the hopelessness of Moslem missions to neglect them and to concentrate its efforts upon those among polytheists. A monotheism which embodies fundamental truths, although sometimes in a distorted shape, is to be combatted differently from polytheism. It is well known that all Christians, but more particularly Roman Catholics, are by Moslems generally considered to be idolators and therefore far beneath them. Oriental Christians, especially the Copts, have sunk deeply, so that even the lowest of Moslems would scorn to become like one of them, whilst the educated, who have come in contact with the civilisation of Europe, or have even visited that continent, are quite prepared to discuss the position of the Christian church there, with its numerous schisms, sects, and even the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope. They describe the excesses of the Paris Commune and other shady sides of Europe, whenever the superior position of Christian countries is alluded to, as the effects of it. The dishonest and immoral lives of Europeans are pointed to, with the remark, "the Christians are not better, but worse than we are"; and whilst some admit the defects of the legislation of the Qorân, and are of opinion that if the prophet were now alive he would make many changes, they nevertheless wish to have nothing to do with Christianity.

The aversion towards certain Christian doctrines inculcated already by the prophet is now as general as it was in his time. To a Moslem the dogma of the Trinity means Tritheism, which is idolatry. The sonship of Christ is answered by the text:—"God is the only, the eternal God; he begetteth not, neither is he begotten; and there is not one like unto him," and many others to the same purport. The tenets of Islam are wonderfully simple, and more intelligible to common sense than those of Christianity. This strong antipathy against Christian doctrines may justify the doubts entertained whether the Gospel can, according to the form of the old church, ever find admittance among Moslems. As long as the Christian church presents its doctrine in the form in which it emerged from the Trinitarian and Christologian disputations of the early centuries, so long will it occupy a difficult position as against Islam, which is indebted for its origin to a half conscious, and half unconcious reaction against this form of the church doctrine. But in all the theological movements of the Protestant church, the feeling is more or less evident, that the radical conceptions of Christian doctrine stand in need of a transformation, and that the one-sided intellectual rule which makes a number of theoretical scholastic propositions the standard of piety, must make way for another representation of Christianity. The process of the

new formation has been initiated, and a time will arrive, when a representation, independent of scholastic ideas of the old church will carry off the victory ; then, perhaps, the preaching of the Gospel in Mahammadan countries will become more hopeful.

After announcing the above opinion the author continues—
“As long as we feel that we are in a period of transition—and what honest Protestant does not feel it—so long shall we be unable to preach the Gospel to Moslems with joy, and therefore also without success ; for, we cannot, after all, thrust upon the adherents of a heresy, the form of Christian doctrine which we have ourselves found to be defective, and the errors of which have produced that heresy.” If this really be the case, the physician must first heal himself before he tries to cure others.

Of the two hundred millions of Mahammadans in the world, more than one-fourth are the subjects of Christian sovereigns ; and even in the countries where the latter are Moslems, European civilization has made itself felt. An extensive commerce has spread its net over Mahammadan countries. Railways, steamers, telegraphs have been established, western political ideas have found admittance, social reforms have been introduced, slavery has, at least theoretically, been abolished in several countries, and in many respects European models are imitated in the administrations of governments. Fanatics gnash their teeth at all these improvements, but advanced and truly educated Moslems hail them with joy, without any fear that their religion will be subverted by them.

The British power has justly been called a great Mahammadan power, because forty millions of its subjects are adherents of Islam. Although it is pretty well understood that Moslems have to apprehend no interference whatever with their religion in Government Schools, they have nevertheless obstinately kept aloof from them, and accept instruction only in establishments where the children are taught by their own Moulvis, and are not mixed with boys of other nationalities. This state of affairs is now gradually passing away, but the consequence of it was, that it excluded Moslems from higher education likewise, and the number of their graduates in the universities may be almost counted on the fingers ; it accounts also for the scanty number of Mahammadan Government officials, especially in the higher branches. The case with the Dutch Indies is nearly the same as that of British India. There, likewise, a great deal has been done for the improvement of education, agriculture, and industry, but especially in the island of Java, where in 1872 the number of Government schools amounted to 83, and of private schools to 90, taking Java and Madura together. These schools were attended by about

14,000 pupils, which of course does not mean much in a population of 17 millions.

Next to England and Holland, Russia and France possess the greatest number of Mahammadan subjects. France does not appear to be very successful in her dealings with the Moslems of Algiers, although it is an exaggeration to say that her Government is no better than that of Turkish Pashas. It is not to be overlooked that immense difficulties must be contended with there. The Kabyles can somehow be managed, but the nomad Arabs are inclined to obey no law, and despise everything which even remotely smacks of civilization. How unfounded the complaints against French administration are, may be inferred from their contradictory nature. On the one hand the Government is blamed for too great severity, and on the other for too much leniency. While some complain of the too great extension of the civil administration, others are shocked by the uncompromising rule of the sword. It cannot of course be asserted that the administration of Algiers is faultless. It has, in consequence of the unfortunate political relations of France, suffered from defects which somewhat resemble those of the Turkish Government. The frequent change of employés, and oftentimes their inadequate salaries, have given occasion for bribery and extortion, so that the old social evils of Algiers have only been partly remedied. Hence we must not be astonished if even the good intentions of the Government meet with distrust and passive resistance. One kind of progress is however undeniable. The Arabs have commenced to prefer the French Courts of justice to their own, many of which have fallen into abeyance. The country has also, especially within the last ten years, made a hopeful progress in civilization, by the establishment of harbours, roads, railways, canals, Artesian wells, and the drainage of marshes. In consequence of the tranquillity which prevails in the country, the inclination to work has increased, at least among the Kabyles. If only the European settlers profit by these improvements of civilization, and extrude the native population, it is but the effect of the superiority of the former, and of the obstinate sullenness of the latter. The efforts of Christian Missionaries are, alas, *nil*.

From the contradictory views published, and from opinions broached as to on the best method of governing Algiers, it may be inferred that a simple military dictatorship would suit the greatest portion of Algiers better than the complicated machinery of a civil Government. The whole system of the French civil administration, with its endless papers and red tape, which gives even in civilized countries much occasion for chicanery and disgust, is quite unbearable to the Bedouins and Kabyles. The

question, however, whether the administration is to be military or civil, may perhaps soon be solved in the simplest manner, because the events of 1881 have probably convinced the French Government, that it will, for a long series of years to come, have no other choice left but to uphold authority in Algiers and in the adjoining countries with the Chassepot and the sabre, and meanwhile to reserve the black tail-coat with the white necktie for France only.

Russia is, by Moslems, considered to be the most dangerous antagonist of their religion, and perhaps justly so. Russian policy is guided by the conviction that Mahammadan countries are in a state of decay, and that, therefore, they are to be conquered and made accessible to civilization. It is a long time since a policy of conquest has been continuously pursued in Asia, with the chief view to promote material, especially commercial, interests, but civilizing agencies have likewise not been wholly neglected. In Europe, Russia's efforts at civilization are generally laughed to scorn. It may, indeed, be difficult to look upon the knout as an instrument of civilization, but considering the lamentable position in which the countries of Central Asia are, it would be unjust to deny that Russia, there, not only possesses, but also exerts a civilizing influence. Peace and order have been restored in the conquered countries, roads have been constructed, and a considerable impulse has been imparted to trade: there are even Russian missionaries in Central Asia. When Khiva was conquered in 1873, slavery was in a great measure abolished, and many thousand Persian slaves obtained their liberty. Numberless men yet suffer the most wretched bondage, and kidnapping still flourishes, but Russia is endeavouring to put an end to these practices. Every conquest in Central Asia may be considered as a victory of civilization, the boundaries of which will be still more enlarged, if the Khanates of Khiva and Khokand soon become totally subject to Russia. If harsher means are employed in her efforts of civilization by Russia in Central Asia than by England in India, it is because she has to deal with people of quite another stamp, and, for the Tatar-Mongolian predatory nations, Russian despotism appears to be at all events a beautiful form of Government.

There is no doubt about the progress of Islam in Central Africa, and the question has arisen whether Muhammadan states will arise there before any Christian communities can be established. African chiefs have no repugnance towards Christian Missionaries, who even whilst they build houses for their own use, and cultivate plots of ground for their support, impart some of the blessings of civilization to the natives, but the latter object to the strict code of morality insisted upon in the teaching

of Christian Missionaries, which, on the part of the Arab traders who act as propagators of Islam, is generally confined to the formula, that there is no God but Allah, and that Mahammad is his prophet. After the missionaries, merchants come, who barter and desire to make fortunes, so that with the Bible the Africans not unfrequently obtain brandy and gunpowder, which are generally more acceptable to them. The extension of the power of Egypt in a southern direction, by Sir S. Baker and other Europeans, was only an extension of the influence of Islam.

As to the Turkish Empire, the Western Powers had, half a century ago, determined to reform it, because they could not destroy it according to the plan of Russia. After all, however, the Turkish policy of the Western Powers appears to have played into the hands of Russia, because the final annihilation of the Ottoman Empire, which it ardently desires, will ensue the more speedily, the more they insist upon the introduction of reforms. The separation of important provinces from the Empire, after the last Russo-Turkish war, shows that its dismemberment is not very distant. This England endeavoured to stave off for fear of not obtaining its due share in the partition, by demanding reforms in Asia Minor and in the financial administration of Constantinople, but that fear having ceased to exist since the occupation of Egypt, the approach of the last catastrophe has become still more probable. Then Christian sovereigns will become the masters of the adherents of Islam in Turkey, but their conversion will nevertheless remain as improbable as of their co-religionists in India.

Partly on account of the scanty hopes and partly on account of the dangers of conversion in Mahammadan countries, Christian Missionaries wisely confine their labours mostly to the education of youth. A great portion of the Moslem population, especially the lower strata of it, have no objection to send their children to a school although the Bible may be taught in it; and such is often also the case in India, more particularly when no fees, or very trifling ones, are exacted for the instruction. The English Mission School in Cairo was frequented by 300 boys and 200 girls; one half of the former, and two-thirds of the latter being Mahammadans. The American Mission in Egypt maintains thirty schools, which are attended by Mahammadan children; that of Cairo, for instance, containing 50 boys and 70 girls. In Syria many Protestant as well as Catholic schools have been established in consequence of the massacre of Christians in 1860, when numberless orphan children were collected by the missionaries in Beyrut, and the adherents of other religions were also admitted, so that the children of the murdered sat in the same school with those of the murderers.

A Turkish Pasha expressed himself in the following manner to the mistress of an English Mission-school when paying a visit to it :—" Madam, such schools as yours, to which you admit all sects, will make another massacre impossible." Whilst in former times scarcely three hundred children attended school in Beyrut, nine thousand do so at present, three thousand of whom obtain instruction in Protestant schools. In the whole of Syria, from Antioch to Nazareth, more than ten thousand children, almost one half of which are girls, enjoy instruction in Protestant schools. In Beyrut, women also, several hundreds of whom are Mahammadans, receive biblical instruction in Sunday schools and day schools, and many of them learn to read and to write. Although at first much antipathy was displayed towards these schools, they enjoy, at present, especially those for girls, much sympathy even among the Mahammadan population ; thus, for instance, not long ago the wives of the Effendis of Baalbeck requested the English missionaries of Beyrut to establish a school in their town, and a similar request of the inhabitants of Damascus was also complied with.*

In Palestine, especially in Jerusalem, much good has likewise been effected by English and German philanthropic institutions, and more particularly by Fliedner's House of Deaconesses, where, since 1851, many hundred girls have annually been provided for. Numerous boys' and girls' schools, at which Mahammadan children likewise attend, are also maintained. In other portions of the Ottoman Empire, such as Asia Minor and European Turkey, American missionaries are also labouring.

Of the forty-five millions of the population in the Ottoman Empire, about twelve millions are Christians, but they occupy a low moral position. The Copts of Egypt have sunk most deeply, immorality and superstition being so fearfully prevalent among them, that they are scarcely more accessible to the influences of Western Christianity than the Moslems. But also the Armenians, the Jacobites of Syria and Mesopotamia, the Nestorians of Persia and of the adjoining regions of the Turkish dominions, have almost entirely lost the spirit of Christianity, and retained only its forms. The inclination, so prevalent among all orientals, to seek the essence of religion in external ceremonies, has become still more developed by contact with Islam, and by a spiritual isolation of centuries to which the Eastern Christians were exposed, it is a wonder how their churches have subsisted for so long a time. But, perhaps, their rigid adherence to the existing forms had strengthened their power of resistance. The Catholic church and the various Protestant denominations have attempted to gain influence

* Proceedings of the General Conference, &c. p. 833 sec.

with their oriental sister-churches. A portion of the Armenians and of the Nestorians have acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, without, however, gaining any essential advantage. Among the other sects, English and American missionaries have attempted to resuscitate evangelical life. That no appreciable results have manifested themselves as yet, must be attributed, partly to the frequent political commotions, partly to the insecure relations of the East, by which the work has often been interrupted, and partly also to the resistance which the oriental churches themselves offer. The results are, nevertheless, encouraging, and at any rate, at present, the hope that these churches may again be awakened to a new life, must not be abandoned. It is nevertheless to be considered as an effect of Western influence, which the elders of the churches are attempting to counteract, that they are beginning to pay more attention to education, by founding male and females schools in order to paralyze the influence of European Missionaries.

The attempt to introduce evangelical Christianity in Palestine, by establishing agricultural colonies, is but feeble, as the number of colonists scarcely exceeds one thousand, scattered about Jerusalem and Jaffa, but the religious character of the colonies and the laborious lives of the colonists, cannot fail to exert a beneficent influence upon the population. They have, however, to contend against several obstacles, such as the enmity of the Turkish officials, who look with suspicion upon every European undertaking, and seek to wreck it with all their might; the climate is a yet greater impediment, because the colonists cannot engage in agricultural labours, and are obliged to hire natives to cultivate their fields, and occupy themselves with trades. That Palestine can ever be inhabited by a large and permanent population emigrating to it from Europe is beyond all probability, but that Islam will gradually disappear in Europe is quite certain, because, at present, the European Turks are not more than one million and a half, whilst their decrease is still continuing. They are an effete race, and so are the Persians, whose numbers remain stationary, when they are not being decimated by famine or war; but that the more vigorous Mahammadan nations will, under more favourable conditions of existence, strive and endeavour to play an important part in the history of the world, is possible, although Islam itself has hitherto remained an insoluble enigma. Rising in the seventh century only, and aiming to overthrow all other religions, Islam reached in a few centuries the epoch of its highest glory, and then began its downward course both as a political and a religious power. Its adherents everywhere most obstinately refuse to accept Christianity, although it generally brings civilization, prosperity and wealth in its train;

accordingly they will have to strive to attain all these advantages without renouncing their own religion ; whether they will be able to do so or not, it is impossible to predict. One thing, however, is certain, namely, that reforms of every kind, and a more extensive educational system, will stem the tide of decline, and ameliorate the prospects of Mahammadans in every way.

Mr. Wilfred Blunt is a sincere well-wisher of Moslems, and had, after close intercourse with them in other parts of the world, made a tour in India, where he proposed the establishment of a Mahammadan University at Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam's Dominions, and generously promised to contribute Rs. 30,000 towards it. On this subject *The Christian Magazine** expresses its opinion as follows :—" Mr. Blunt is very much distressed because he finds that Mussalmans attend colleges, and are connected with Universities in which European Professors exercise an influence. He carries his dislike to his own countrymen to such an extent, that he objects to the Calcutta Madrassa and to the Mahammadan College at Aligarh, as places of instruction for Mahammadan youth, because the Principals and some of the Professors are non-Moslems. The remedy he proposes is, that the Mussalmans of India should ignore the present Universities, and that H. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad should found a University, in which all literature and science should be looked at from a Moslem standpoint, and all the professors be Mahammadans ; for, says he, ' Moslems see that neither history, nor philosophy, nor Western literature can be taught by unbelievers in the divine mission of their Prophet, without serious risk of undermining their pupils' faith.' This may be true of persons like the bigotted Triplicane Moulvis, but it is not true of intelligent Mussalmans, who are year by year coming forth in increasing numbers, and are seeking to keep pace with the times in which they live. Mr. Blunt's views of Islam, and of the needs of the Indian Moslems, seem to be based on what he has learnt from the Ulama of Cairo. Had he condescended to consult such men as Syed Ahmad Khan Bahadur, Amir Ali Sahib, and others who are the leaders of the progressive party amongst Indian Moslems, he would have found that there is no desire on their part to isolate the community from the other classes of the population, or to give them a one-sided education. Mahammadan gentlemen are Fellows of the various Indian Universities, and there is no Moslem, whose opinion is worth considering, who has ever made the least objection to the University system."

To these objections Mr. Blunt would probably reply that the isolated instruction proposed by him is at all events better

* Madras, May, 1884, No. 11, p. 698.

than none at all, and that Syed Ahmad Khan Bahadur with the Muhammadan gentlemen who are Fellows of the various Indian Universities, are but as a drop in the ocean of the uneducated masses, who consider them as heretics, and would prefer to remain altogether uneducated, except through the channel proposed by Mr. Blunt. This is the dilemma.

Now we shall take up the second portion of our thesis, from which it will appear that a *purely* Christian civilization, without any admixture of heathenism, has never before existed, and has also hitherto nowhere been evolved.

It is generally admitted that civilization has existed and still exists outside of the pale of Christianity, and if it be said

The relations of Christianity to civilization.*

that without Christianity there never was, nor is, a perfect civilization, the obvious reply suggests itself, that Christianity has since its existence likewise never, and nowhere, produced "perfect civilization." Mere differences in degree, be they ever so important, do not fall under consideration, when the question turns simply upon Christian and non-Christian civilization. It must be allowed that before the time of Christianity, high culture was attained by some countries, such as India, Egypt, Greece and Rome, as we have observed already in the first portion of this article. After Christianity had overspread nearly the whole of Europe, non-Christian civilization influenced portions of it, and the achievements of the Mahammadans in Spain left imperishable memorials. Even now Islam is one of the most dangerous rivals of Christianity on the mission field, and if it be said that the culture it offers is of low degree, it must at any rate be admitted, that it raises the barbarians of Africa to a higher level than that which they occupied before their conversion. As to the ancient civilised nations, such as the Greeks and Romans, they entertained no religious propaganda like the Christians and the Mahammadans; but they imparted a portion of their culture to the nations they subjugated; some of their aqueducts, highways, palaces, &c., being still in existence. Long after these nations have disappeared, their intellectual attainments still survive; the Roman Law is studied to this day, and so is the Euclid of the Greeks; their arts and sciences are admired, and Christian poets draw inspiration from heathen gods. Hence it appears that these were not simple civilizations, but missionary civilizations, which are yet actually existing by the side of Christian culture as models for imitation. It is objected as greatly derogatory to these civilizations that they sanctioned slavery,

* I am indebted to the German periodical "Der Beweis des Glaubens" for the better part of this portion of my article.

assigned a mean position to women, &c., which shows, it is said, that they knew nothing of "human dignity." On the other hand, however, it is well known that the New Testament contains no direct prohibition either of slavery or of polygamy, although both these institutions are certainly against the spirit of it. It is, however, quite different whether something is *directly* excluded from the New Testament as unworthy of Christianity, or whether its extirpation is expected as a gradual indirect fruit of the prevalence of the Christian spirit. It cannot likewise be denied that, in like manner, "Christian" countries cherished a form of slavery more abominable than that of the Romans or Greeks, and forced it upon the nations they "civilized." It was, of course, a false Christianity which tolerated, aye originated, such slavery, but we have here in view historical Christianity as it developed itself among nations; and *this* Christianity has, by its official representatives, undoubtedly tolerated slavery. As to the position of women and their "equal rights" in the nineteenth century, no trace of it occurs in the New Testament. Although as Christians, men and women are placed there on a footing of equality in the sight of God, the wife is subordinate to the husband in the house (and entirely so in public life) not however as a slave, as in many pagan religions and laws, but as a helpmate. Nevertheless in Rome, wives were far from being the slaves of their husbands, and in many islands of the Pacific Ocean, women occupy an honourable position. In several other respects also, the view that the wife is the helpmate of her husband has not been developed only after the establishment of Christianity, but occurs already in the Old Testament, and it is in general incorrect to apply some of the tenets of that book specially for the adornment of Christianity. In short, it must be admitted, that heathen, and in general, non-Christian culture, has shown itself capable, in the regions into which it had been transplanted, to raise nations and countries from a lower to a higher and more humane existence, and make them, in many respects, civilized.

If we consider the historical position of Christianity as a power for culture, few will deny that when it became a living force in a nation it acted as a civilizing agent. It must, however, be granted that, wherever Christianity has made its appearance as a power, gaining nations, or ruling those already gained, it *never* and *nowhere* acted as the so-called *pure* Christianity, but always as a historical development of Christianity which was, in ~~some~~ manner, although sometimes slightly, mixed with extraneous elements. Unmixed Christianity was in Jesus Christ alone. Although, according to the words of Christ (in Luke x, 16,) the apostles ought to be listened to

and they preached pure Christianity, their individuality must have been influenced by extraneous circumstances. Orthodox theologians admit that Paul was influenced by the Graeco-Rabbinical education of his time, which implies that in the foundation of Christian *culture* as such by this apostle, and still more by his disciples and successors, some not specially Christian influences, and not in the least hurtful to them, must have co-operated. It may here be observed that as far as the mission of the apostles is concerned, that Paul excepted, but few of them left any lasting traces of the injunction in Mat. xxviii, 19, to "teach all nations." What can be replied when it is alleged that Paul was a Hellenist, and that his success, as well as his civilising position, must be attributed to the connection of Christianity with corresponding Greek education? We shall here chiefly concern ourselves with *that* Christianity which we have received as barbarians, long after the time of the apostles. It must simply be admitted that it was not pure Christianity. The New Testament, the pure document of pure Christianity, was in the hands of but few persons, and to this circumstance alone are we indebted that genuine Christianity has sprung up and bloomed. When the question turns upon Christian culture, the prevalence of the New Testament is the standard by which its genuineness is measured. There was a leaven of Christian culture in the earlier times, but to assert that the civilization of the Middle Ages was due only to that source, and therefore purely Christian, would be simply ridiculous. Any one making such an assertion could have no idea of Christian-Roman, of ancient-Roman, or of mediæval culture with its laws, political life, &c., or of Greek philosophy, all of which influenced Christian theology, and whatever else is to be taken into consideration. Accordingly the Christianity into which the converted nations during the Middle Ages were incorporated, contained foreign ingredients, and mediæval Christian culture was not *purely* Christian.

Protestants feel highly flattered and are pleased when they hear, even from Catholics, that the countries of the former excel those of the latter in civilization, and well they may; but men of education who oppose every kind of Christianity, reply—"Protestants are indebted for this superiority not to evangelical *Christianity*, but to the spirit of the times by which they have been influenced, and which the Catholics have excluded." This verdict accounts for the inferiority of Catholic civilization, but implies no praise of Protestantism as a religion; considering the indisputable merits of Catholicism with reference to civilization during the Middle Ages. It also implies that Catholicism which has remained stationary at an earlier standpoint, is in itself not repugnant to civilization. If

however, the relation of evangelical Christianity to culture be considered more closely, it will be found that although it is not correct to consider the reformation only as a part of the general intellectual revolution designated by the name of "revival of learning" or *Renaissance*, it can nevertheless not be denied that the reformation cannot have been something isolated and entirely separated from the total intellectual commotion. The reformers have become what they were, only by Christian religious life and by the Bible; but they were nevertheless *also* the children of the age in which they lived, and influenced by the movement of civilization which was not specially Christian. They, indeed, brought the Bible, the kernel of Christianity, and made it the only standard of what is to be believed or taught, but the manner in which they exhibited this kernel, and much of what agglomerated itself around it, was influenced also by other than specially Christian ingredients. Accordingly the evangelical culture thus planted in the countries which had accepted the reformation, was not the product of evangelical Christianity alone.

Is the case of the modern promulgation, defence, and propagation of Christianity different? Is the Christianity of the nineteenth century, professed by orthodox theologians as set forth in the Bible, entirely pure and unmixed? Do not non-Christian elements of culture enter into every course of education, ecclesiastical as well as secular? Believers also are children of the nineteenth century; Europeans, Americans, &c. Christian thought, speech and life also have been invaded by many ideas, which a Christian spirit may consecrate but does not produce. The civilization at present enjoyed by Christian nations, which missionaries help to convey to non-Christian peoples, cannot be considered to be the fruit of Christianity alone. The fact is undeniable, that what we Christians possess of the culture of our age and communicate to others, we possess and communicate not only as Christians, but also as educated Europeans, Americans, &c. We desire to have a classical education, but "classical" is not synonymous with "Christian." We may, as cultivated men, do everything in a Christian spirit, but it has materially and technically nothing in common with the occupations of road-making or typography, the sciences of geography or philology, &c., wherefore it would be absurd to attribute all such merits of civilization to Christianity. When Christianity operated as a civilizing agent, it became mixed up with non-Christian elements; on the other hand, many individuals, nominally Christian, as well as societies, nations, and states have, from non-Christian and often from decidedly anti-Christian motives done a great deal for civilization abroad as well as at home.

The two questions, what is Christianity? and what is culture? are often asked. As to the first, the reply is that, at least from the evangelical standpoint, there exists an absolutely binding authority and standard of Christianity, namely, the New Testament, and the second we shall endeavour to solve as follows :—

The ideas of culture, civilization, education, &c., deal with the relations of the *mind* towards *nature*, and more particularly the manner in which the latter is to be influenced by the former. Changing and not quiescent relations of mind to nature are always meant; culture, education, &c., imply according to their definitions something which is developing itself; wherefore according to the character of every human and historical development, the individual and social factors must commingle, but their connection may take place in various ways. But the relations between mind and nature determine in some manner the ideas of morality and religion, and, according to our conviction, only these two produce the correct relations of mind to nature, and therefore also true culture. According to a purely human point of view also, religion and morality are subject to change and development. According to Genesis 1, 26, the task of culture is allotted to all mankind, when, however, the arrangements of political and social order in its various forms (such as family, society, people, state) are chiefly concerned, the task of culture is named *civilization*, which implies also the raising of human society from the rude, so called, state of nature, in which matter, brutal force and arbitrariness prevail, to a moral condition, without which co-operation in any society becomes impossible. The intrinsic value of these forms depends, however, upon the degree of intellectual development which a generation may have attained. Therefore the idea of culture, civilization, and moral condition, is a perpetually changing one.

The case is similar with the idea of *education*. It means the governing of nature through the mind by individuality (which is of course impossible without the influence of the universal factor of culture). Here also, as well as in culture, two sides have to be considered, namely, the esthetic, inasmuch as nature, that is to say the physical, becomes an expression, a symbol of the mind, and the teleological, inasmuch as the physical becomes an organ, or instrument by which the mind works. In both respects *language* is above all the most important medium and characteristic of education; because it points in the most instructive manner to the commingling of the universal and of the individual ingredient of education. There exists no language which is *only* individual; nevertheless, he alone is educated who possesses an individual

language which he has made his own, and formed into an artistic structure, corresponding to the disposition of his mind, &c ; thus it also appears that true education is essentially individual. So called universal education in a man is then not a contradiction, when his individual character is so constituted, as to be able gradually, by organic growth, more and more to appropriate or to assimilate to itself all that pertains to the real life of humanity. As, however, the real embracing of all the so-called ingredients of education is an impossibility, a receptive interest in, and an unshackled view of, the totality, but above all the totality of the intellectual life of mankind is to be considered as the most essential characteristic of real education. But the first requirements of the true education of an individual is to become wholly what he ought to be according to his vocation, talents, position, &c. This is the cause of the infinite variety of truly educated men, and therefore also of the possibility, to be more educated with reference to some aspects of life than to others ; and these various aspects have a different relation of value towards each other. Physical education if it at all deserves the name of "education" is inferior to mental, and in the latter the relations of esthetic, intellectual, emotional, &c., education may be determined very differently. But he only is an educated man who is open to all these sides of education according to the manner demanded by his individuality. Only in this sense of individuality may education, culture and liberty abide together in harmony. Modern levelling culture and education on the other hand are fraught with the danger of transforming man into a puppet, an ape, a hypocrite, or a slave ; especially the education directed to culture *only*, may make him essentially a slave to *form*. When the idea of humanity or of the human mind is conceived, merely as the commingling or the union of all the qualities constituting personality, excluding or allowing no central preponderance to the one or the other of the chief factors of humanity (according to our view the moral and the religious) then the idea of the human mind becomes something essentially *formal* ; and the necessarily resulting preponderance of the intellectual factor is itself only something formal. Then *mere* education is according to its conception something merely formal ; it is the frame to the *figure* of the man's mind ; so that the greater the remissness of imparting to the mind the contents, the filling in, due to it, will become either mere formal *enlightenment*, or even mere *polish*, nay, varnish, under the cover of which the crudest and most unspiritual nature prevails. The culture which strives to make such mere education its common property has for its purpose and end only *the* governing of the creature by man ; the *how*

and the *wherefore*, however, are not furnished by the mind, but by the unspiritual human nature, by the flesh. *Such* education, and *such* culture is immorality, and is of far less value than natural coarseness, which is informal but possesses substantial force.

It appears from what has been said, that it is of questionable utility to attribute too much value to mere culture and education, but also on the other hand, that culture and education become of the highest value to mankind and to individuals, when morality and religion impart to them that substance and force, and assign to them that purpose without which they are not genuine culture and education, that is to say, such as really suit human beings. But also in this respect we must be on our guard from exaggerations. As far as *morality* is concerned, it points out to the individual, and to mankind, as the highest end to what we call "the good," no matter what the closer definition of this idea may be. This highest end does not exclude the relative ends of culture and education which are subservient to it; they affirm it and are bound up under its leadership. Morality itself is a kind of education, a raising of human life up to, and a fitting it into, the ideal, its end, and in the first instance according to *one* disposition, namely the moral disposition of man; accordingly moral education is something progressing alongside the other educations, *e.g.* the esthetic, and the intellectual education. But as this disposition (together with the religious one) is the central one, moral education contains at least the force and the claim of being *the* education itself. As moral education it is, however, itself something *which is being developed*; and not every moral man is already a morally, thoroughly educated human being, although he possesses the force and the impulse to become so. Thus we must certainly say that all the other dispositions of human nature attain their normal formation only through morality, in the same way as the latter conceived in its perfection, presupposes such a normal formation of all the dispositions; and thus the ideas, to be truly moral, and to be truly educated, are one. In the empirical formation of human life, however, these two branches, namely that of morality (or moral education) and that of (the general) education, are relatively separate, and by no means progress simultaneously. In the concrete there may be a great deal of morality without corresponding (usual general) education, and education without corresponding morality; and the latter, without education, is a kernel without a shell, whilst education without morality is a shell without a kernel. By this, however, a positive and a privative non-existence of the one and of the other is to be distinguished. Morality without education is, in the merely privative sense,

still morality ; whereas morality without education, in a negative, absolute sense, is inconceivable ; a really moral man always possessess also the most needful degree of education, because his centre is or becomes educated ; or, in other words, there are moral men who are " not educated," but none who are positively uneducated barbarians. Positive absence of education is immoral when it implies a positive scorn of civilization which leads the mind to subjugate nature. On the other hand, education without morality, conceived in the privative sense, is possible, and occurs relatively and transiently, so that a man of this kind may yet be considered educated ; to this class belong thousands of our age, who cannot be designated in a strict sense as moral characters, but neither as directly immoral, and whom it would be absurd to consider as uneducated. On the other hand a positively immoral individual is also always positively uneducated, because he directly despises the dominion of mind over nature ; such a person is far beneath an uneducated but moral man. All this is naturally also applicable to the culture and morality of nations. Thus, there are civilized nations which are relatively not moral ; but a nation of culture with positive immorality, that is to say in which immorality is the dominant power, ceases to be a nation of culture. There are nations which morally occupy a high position, but are relatively without culture, that is to say in a state of nature ; but nations in a state of nature with positive and complete absence of culture, *e. g.*, such as do not work at all, &c., are immoral.

But as far as religion is concerned, it differs in its conception from morality in the same manner as Theonomy (God-law) is distinguished from Autonomy (self-law). Both these are in their original form (chiefly in the conscience) one, and the perfection of both is again unity, namely religious morality and absolutely moral religion. Again, in the historical, empirical development or evolution of the individual as well of society, both relatively diverge or separate, and here also a merely privative and a direct and absolutely negative relation is to be distinguished. Collating this, with what has been stated on the relation of education to morality, we say :—Positively conscious, wilful and obstinate irreligion is immorality and therefore also uneducatedness ; but mere privative non-religiousness (as also irreligion which is a mere stage of transition in the inner process of development) may co-exist with morality and education. There are, indeed, moral and educated men who are not pious, whilst a positively impious individual, *e. g.*, a declared atheist, who is merely in a state of transition and does not definitively persevere in atheism, fighting against religion, may, in the full meaning of the word, be still called a moral and educated man. On the other hand, religion cannot, indeed,

co-exist with positive immorality and uneducatedness, but may with an absence of morality and education. This holds good for the relation between religion and morality at least temporarily; deficient morality being subject to development, or manifesting itself in single acts, is not necessarily a sign that religiousness does not exist; but as to the relation between religion and education, the privatively conceived possibility of the existence of the former without the latter in general only holds good, because no man can be really pious without being really educated. In its perfection, however, religiousness is the highest morality and the highest education.

Culture and education are of purely human growth and not the exclusive privilege of Christianity; moreover, also, according to Christian doctrine "in every nation he that feareth him (*i. e.*, God) and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." (Acts x. 35). History and literature bear abundant witness how far heathen nations had progressed, and if Christian missionaries find some of them morally degenerate, all of them have not sunk equally deep, nor can it be denied that here and there some Christian nations are likewise found in a lamentable moral condition. Therefore, we say—Like culture and education so also (general) religiousness and morality are everywhere of human origin, and may be planted also by non-Christian labour; it is accordingly wrong, without duly weighing facts, to conclude from the religious, moral, and civilizing effects of Christianity, that Christianity *alone* can produce culture.

If we consider the special essence of Christianity, its *contrast* to culture will at once strike us. All culture is noble, but temporal; is only of temporal growth, and aims at temporal ends. This is sufficiently announced in the fundamental passage on culture, in Gen. I., 20. This passage is not of the New Testament, and really does not designate a specially Christian but a general human task. The special import and task of the Gospel and of Christianity in its genuine and particular tendency has directly nothing to do with all this. It desires to win souls for the *eternal, future kingdom of God* and nothing more. To save poor lost men from the guilt and bondage of sin, and to prepare them for a heavenly, not for a terrestrial kingdom, is the special problem of the evangel and nothing else. It demands and effects that those who believe in it, should live on earth as citizens who have their conversation (*politeuma*, Phil. iii. 20) in heaven, and faithfully and honestly discharge their duties as the Gospel prescribes them on earth towards God, the family, and the state, whilst their hearts are in heaven. The Gospel approves of terrestrial work of every kind, and therefore also of the labour of civilization, not however as its *own*, not as a specially Christian duty, but as a school of preparation and

transition for those who are to belong to the kingdom of heaven. True Christians fulfil in the spirit of Christ, humbly, quietly, faithfully, obediently all their duties as fathers, citizens, officials, &c., not however as Christians, but as men, husbands, Englishmen, Frenchmen, &c. This may be called a dualistic, ethic conception of the world, which draws a sharp line of separation between the political law and the Gospel, between the State and the Church, but it is the only conception sanctioned by the New Testament. Modern temporal tendency is most dangerous when it meddles also with Christian views, thus, for instance, when it endeavours in its present ideas of a Christian State, &c., to make of Christianity a terrestrial power, and a panacea of all the evils which flesh is heir to.

The defenders of the theory of temporal Christianity always appeal to the passage that, "godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come," I. Tim. iv. 8. If this is to mean that Christianity does and can remedy everything that pertains to terrestrial life, then all uneducated Christians, all who lead a miserable life without the blessings and joys of civilization, all who are sick, unjustly persecuted, defamed, scorned, and, lastly, all those for whom Jesus Christ has come, would be deprived of the most important and significant fruits of Christianity. In the above passage "the life that now is" has nothing to do with civilization, and means existence in the full meaning of the word, the communion with God, its enjoyment and its strength which the Christian feels already in the present life as an earnest and a foretaste of that which is to come.

If a true Christian can even in the specially Christian sphere not become forthwith an educated man, it is obvious that general education, and therewith the capacity for the labour of culture, can by no means be attributed to him merely because he is a Christian, but the spirit which he has received impels him to appropriate to himself as much of general culture as his duty requires and his strength allows, using on the one hand the sphere of culture as a means for the purpose of his Christianity, and on the other exhibiting his Christianity also in this sphere. As the individual, so also the community, has duties to perform, but it must likewise be educated in the Christian sense. And as education results in culture, it follows that Christian society could exert, and does exert, culture in a gradually rising progress only, exerting it in a Christian spirit compatible with the duties due to the community, and making also, in this manner, culture subservient to the ends of Christianity. It is an undeniable fact that the spirit of no other religion has been able to appropriate, and to make subservient to itself the whole wide field of civilization, like the

spirit of Christianity. This fact does not, however, imply the purification of culture from the stains adhering to it in consequence of the sinful development of humanity, because culture is essentially human, terrestrial and temporal with all its products. Hence the absurdity of speaking of "Christian music," because Bach, or Handel or Mendelssohn have enrolled music in the service of Christianity in their respective compositions on the Passion, the Messiah, and Paul. Music is only music and nothing more, and in this sense Bach's Passion is just like any other piece of music capable of producing the same degree of esthetic pleasure. Thus, poetry is poetry, science is science, architecture is architecture, whether it be Christian or not.

We have said before, that no purely Christian and no "pure civilization" is in existence. Every civilization is the offspring of its own time, and therefore impregnated with the influence of its own sin; nor is every civilization subservient only to what is godly and noble, but also to what is ungodly and impure in the human race. Moreover, these two ingredients are so finely interwoven, that it is quite impossible to separate them wholly. Who would, for instance, pretend that our *modern culture*, the culture of the nineteenth century, represents and offers only that which is pure and noble in mankind, or perhaps, that it is an unmixed Christian civilization? The latter assertion would, in our opinion, imply that this civilization is fit to be wholly appropriated by the Christian spirit, and to be enlisted in its service. But the real and the high representatives of modern culture are, with exceptions that are disappearing, either consciously or unconsciously non-Christians, and partly avowed anti-Christians. Even apart from the influence of the just mentioned men, the circumstance alone that sometimes, within the limits of a Christianised district, culture *alone* is aimed at, and that Christianity is ignored (although other noble sentiments may prevail) imparts something un-Christian to culture. And this non-Christian spirit to which modern culture generally pays homage, pervades everything; it cannot be kept off, supplanted by the Christian spirit, or extirpated; therefore the Christianization of modern culture is impossible. The Christian representatives of culture may indeed oppose and mitigate the influence of unchristian progress in the *education of individuals*, but not in its development, which aims at overwhelming the whole world with its general spirit. Every kind of modern civilization has its unchristian accretions and lateral effects, which more or less detract from the chief purpose at which Christianity aims; thus even missionaries who propagate it, find that their converts learn therewith superfluous luxuries of civilization of which they never dreamt nor felt any need before. Luxury being so closely allied to civilization, it is futile to hope that the latter

can be introduced among untutored nations without the bane of the former ; there are even examples when the Bible, brandy and bullets have become simultaneously known to Africans. Such experiences ought to teach the propagators of Christianity to estimate the civilizing side of their labours very modestly and soberly, as they are after all only a mixture of Christianity and worldliness. There are, of course, Christians and missionaries who bring to various nations the Gospel only ; being however also men and representatives of European culture, they bring culture also, or finding it in a degenerated state, as *e. g.*, among the Chinese, they raise it to a better position. As far as the work of civilization, the material of it, is concerned, that is carried into foreign countries by the representatives of European modern civilization, namely nominal or real Christians. When worldlings, as often happens in our times, attribute meritorious labours in the cause of civilization to missions, it is merely a sign of the times at which earnest Christians only grieve, because according to Luke, vi, 22-26 the disciples of Christ are not to expect this praise. All culture presupposes an unconverted man, whom it endeavours to ennoble, to raise, and to spiritualize as much as possible ; but Christianity seeks in converting him *chiefly* his spiritual, not his physical welfare, and his prosperity not in this, but in the next world. This radical difference between Christianity and civilization is sometimes not perceived, but when it is, the reproach of enmity towards civilization is not seldom hurled at genuine Christianity ; if the apostles suffered themselves to be called fools for Christ's sake, their successors are not always spared the name of semi-barbarian, or barbarian, as far as the higher sciences and arts are concerned, although at home and abroad they appear among uncultured men naturally as representatives also of civilization. The motive from which Christians engage in the labours of civilization is philanthropy, although this is not a sentiment peculiar to Christianity alone ; it has been inculcated already in the Old Testament, and some Pagan religions likewise preach benevolence not only to our fellow-beings but to all living creatures. That, however, which is from a purely Christian standpoint considered to be the highest education, namely the spiritual regeneration of man, is the special effect of the Christian doctrine, and is not included in the category of general civilization, which although inculcated already in Genesis, i, 26, is the result of human nature only with the forces and impulses inherent therein. These forces and impulses, or instincts, decidedly produce higher results when they are enlisted in the service of the Christian spirit, and above all of Christian love ; but to expect Christianity, which will always be professed by only a small minority of the human race, and which is antagonistic to worldliness (Math. x 34) to become a panacea to cure all

evils, physical and moral, that beset our race, would be a grievous mistake. Nevertheless, amiable enthusiasts are of that opinion, and M. de Lamennais appeared to believe that "justice with love and peace and liberty" will prevail among all nations. On this idea he expatiates in his *Paroles d'un croyant* beautifully as follows:—

"When after a long dearth gentle rain falls upon the earth, it drinks up with avidity the water of heaven which refreshes and fertilises it.

"Thus the thirsty nations will drink with avidity the word of God when it will descend upon them like a vernal shower.

"And justice with love, and peace and liberty will sprout in their bosom.

"And it will be as at the time when all were brothers, and the voice of the master or the slave, the groans of the poor or the sighs of the oppressed will be heard no more; but songs of joy and of benediction.

"Fathers will say to their sons:—Our first days were troubled, full of tears and anguish. Now the sun rises and sets to our joy. Praised be God, who has shown us these blessings before we die!

"And mothers will say to their daughters:—Look at our foreheads which are so calm at present; grief, pain, distress formerly ploughed deep furrows on them. Your own are like the surface of a lake which no breeze disturbs in springtime. Praised be God, who has shown us these blessings before we die!

"And young men will say to young maidens:—You are beauteous like the flowers of the fields, pure like the dew which refreshes them, like the light which colours them. It is sweet to us to see our fathers, it is sweet to us to be with our mothers; but when we behold you, and when we are with you, something passes in our souls, which has no name but in heaven. Praised be God, who has shown us these blessings before we die!

"And the young maidens will reply:—Flowers wither, they pass away; a day arrives when neither the dew refreshes nor the light colours them any more. On earth virtue alone never withers nor passes away. Our fathers are like the ear of corn which fills itself with grain towards autumn, and our mothers like the vine that loads itself with grapes. It is sweet to us to see our fathers, it is sweet to us to be with our mothers, and the sons of our fathers and of our mothers are sweet to us likewise. Praised be God, who has shown us these blessings before we die!"

What a beautiful picture, but how unlike our age in which nations are constantly armed against nations, and man instead of loving his fellow man, endeavours to outwit him by fair means or foul, as if his gospel were *Homo homini lupus est*, and

not, "love thy neighbour as thyself." This, it seems, was not perceived by another living French author of some celebrity, who thus describes the stage of mental development which humanity has now attained :—"I call *modern spirit* in religion and politics, the great resultant of the intellectual and political movement, which, latent and obscure during the first centuries of the Middle Age, has developed itself since the twelfth century in a continuous manner, and has found its definite formula in 1789. What was proclaimed during that year, was the advent of humanity to its conscience, it was the act of majority of the human mind taking possession of its sovereignty, it was the advent of reason to the organizing and reforming power, which chance, passion, or the unknown causes obscurely classed under the name of Providence, had hitherto arrogated to themselves. The sovereignty of reason, the rational organization of society by reflection, this is all the modern spirit." In a footnote, however, the author adds, that the French revolution marks neither so important an era, nor was so beneficent in its results, as he believed when he wrote the above passage, but that, nevertheless, what he says in it concerning the modern spirit, remains true according to his opinion.

It will not be denied that religion influences the intellectual and moral development of a man according to the manner in which he accepts it. A faith which may apparently be irreconcilable with free development, nevertheless improves and strengthens a man if he will only make use of his reason, but if not, even an apparently higher faith will crush him when he accepts it merely as a yoke emanating from an official authority which he dare not question. A religion which would impose upon us the duty of not reflecting on supernatural matters, and on our destiny, would compel us to cripple the faculties of our mind.

The power which civilized man has during the present age acquired over physical nature is certainly wonderful, but this progress in conquering the obstacles which matter opposes to him, is then only of the highest order, when it aids him in the fulfilment of his ideal mission. An act of virtue, a noble sentiment, or a beautiful thought, make man much more the sovereign of the creation than his power to send instantaneously a message to the end of the world, or to hold conversation through the telephone at a considerable distance from his correspondent. The sovereignty of man is much more in the soul, and was better represented according to its spirit by the sages on the tops of the Himalayas, and the ascetics of the Egyptian desert, although they were in many respects slaves to physical nature, than by the materialists of our age who subjugate matter, and change the surface of the globe without comprehending the divine meaning of life. The sadness and philosophy of those ancients were charms superior to our vulgar

pleasures, and their very aberrations are more honourable to human nature, than so many lives purporting to be useful but spent in endeavours to attain wealth, and in the insignificant struggles of vanity. A great error is committed in the present theory of education, which refuses to acknowledge that besides special sciences which have a positive application, there is also a general culture, intended to form only the intellectual and moral man. Hitherto morality has almost entirely escaped the utilitarian system of our Indian universities and appears to be a mere luxury and ornament.

The perfection of mechanical arts, which are the boast of our age, may be allied to great moral and intellectual depression. We do not pretend to say that such is the case in our times; no century can show as many cultivated intellects as ours, but real progress has been accomplished by few only, and, in this sense, the general physiognomy of our age is less noble than that of former times. The world in reality contains more intellectual and moral education than ever; but the noble portions no longer occupy the first rank, and yield their supremacy to secondary interests. Philosophy and science will pursue their objects for ever without reaching the coveted goal but religion and morality are the emphatically serious things and are sufficient to impart a meaning and a scope to life; how far these serious things, as represented in the Bible, may influence nations so as to lead the van of civilization has been but recently expressed, in a new and perhaps more striking manner than usual, by an Italian writer whose words we here translate:—"The nation which covers the seas with its fleets, which extends its power over so great a portion of the world, which colonises vast deserts and inhospitable regions, which causes the whistles of its railways to resound among, and transmits its thoughts by the telegraph to, barbarous and savage nations whom it educates, establishing there schools, academies, the press, liberty; this nation, the English nation is emphatically Bibliomaniac, the worship of the Bible is its private and its public worship. All the institutions and laws are in harmony with the Bible, and therefore the people have never dreamt of accepting either the code of Napoleon or so many laws of the continent. And is not that other nation the first-born son of old Albion as emphatically Bibliomaniac, and has it not always rejected the code of Napoleon as well as the laws manufactured on the opposite shores of the ocean? In spite of all that, it has within a brief period of time increased like the stars of the firmament, has become such a colossus, that it presented within the past year 1882, a milage of 11,200 kilometres of railways, whilst the States had been paying off 700 millions of debts."

E. REHATSEK.

ART. II.—RAILWAY RATES.

ONE of the effects of the present depression of trade is a revival of the crusade against railway rates and railway monopoly generally, and the old accusations and old remedies are re-appearing in the press and at public meetings, to the evident alarm of railway directors. It is not necessary to discuss here, whether the so-called "depression of trade" is real or assumed. The report of the Royal Commission has not thrown much light on the subject, but it appears more than probable that while, as is admitted, the volume of business is still as large as ever, the profits are being divided with agents and middlemen, and that consequently grouse moors and steam yachts are not so easily obtained as formerly.

A book has recently appeared by a very competent authority* in which the case for the railways has been very thoroughly and carefully placed before the public. It is obviously, indeed professedly, one-sided, but is written so temperately, that it is certain to secure considerable attention, and perhaps produce some effect in the coming struggle. The facts and arguments advanced by Mr. Grierson will not, as he appears to anticipate, go far towards convincing those who are clamouring most loudly ; but as he urges, these consist of people who have not taken the trouble to gauge the many difficulties of the problem and are not likely to do so, but who will be content with making a noise in the hope that "something will be done," and that to their advantage. The subject is one that has more than a general interest for Indian readers. Our railway system is entering, as I have pointed out elsewhere, on an era of competition which, though trifling as compared with what is going on in Europe and the United States, will result in making great changes in our export trade, and in the relative position with regard to it of our few large seaports. Calcutta, Bombay and Kurachi are already keenly competing for the trade of Upper India, and enlisting the help of railways and their differential rates, while Madras seems destined to be before long little more than a provincial harbour. The new port Marmogoa, on the western coast, will, if cheap, be able to make a good bid for a share of the Bombay trade, but it is not in a position to affect what may be termed the "triangular duel" between the three first named ports for the bulk of the export trade. Before, however, dealing with the subject as affecting us in India, it

* Railway rates, English and Foreign : J. Grierson E. Stanford, Charing Cross.

may be as well to go briefly over some of Mr. Grierson's views. His main thesis is laid down in his first chapter, *viz.*, that railway administrations (in England) "need be apprehensive only, "of a vague uninstructed notion that something must be done; "of legislation adopted, if not in a panic, in a time of greatly "depressed trade, of crude one-sided proposals and "of the application of a standard of perfection supposed "to exist somewhere, but in truth nowhere realized." This is not improbably an accurate sketch of a good deal of the present movement, but the author knows well that the world is governed somehow with an uncommonly small amount of wisdom and "fools step in," and hold on, too, on ground which the "angels" won't look at, and he therefore proceeds to go carefully over the whole field of dispute, demolishing each objection and arriving practically at the comforting conclusion, that everything that is, is good, and that railway managers, at any rate, know their own business.

The first point to bear in mind, and one which singularly enough seems to be generally overlooked, is that railways regarded simply as commercial investments, must pay their way, or if this very necessary result is to be endangered, that the State must be prepared to acquire their property on equitable terms. The railways in the United Kingdom can urge, at any rate, that in spite of their "monopolies" and their "excessive" rates, they have as yet on the average paid no extraordinary dividends. Their average receipts for the last dozen years has not been $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and on 48 millions of the ordinary capital as pointed out by Mr. Grierson, no dividend at all is forthcoming; while the Company he is connected with, the Great Western, one of the largest and most powerful in England, and controlling nearly 2,500 miles of line, has only paid an average dividend of £3-15-0 per cent. during the last thirty years. The reply to this might be that with more economy in construction and working, less fighting, and perhaps with more definite control by the State, the returns would have been very much better, and that the lowering of rates would probably have still further improved matters by creating new sources of traffic. No mercy either to trader or consumer is to be expected from those who, like Mr. Grierson, hold that in the matter of transport merchandize should be made to pay all it can afford, and that "any other principle is no principle." Put in other words, this may mean that on a line, or portion of a line, on which there is no effective competition, if a certain profit can be made and certain customers quieted by carrying, say 1,000 tons, at say one penny per ton per mile, no thought need be taken as to whether by carrying, say 2,500 tons at half this rate, the same profit can be realized. The needs of distant traders,

of the consumer ; and the idea of the general prosperity of the realm may be thrust aside as of no moment compared with that of the railway concerned. Such a doctrine places us face to face with the question so often raised at the present day, *vis.*, whether in the broad and general interests of the State it is necessary or even advisable, that the dividend shall be the sole test of the utility and sufficiency of a railway. The question will be answered in the negative by those who are prepared to take a broad view of the functions of a Government, and the whole policy of continental nations in railway matters and in some degree of our Indian Government is based on this view.

The defence of what are variously termed special, differential, competitive, or "war" rates, takes up many pages of Mr. Grierson's work. He shews not only that they are a necessity, both to traders and consumers in England and elsewhere ; but that in continental States where the railways belong, either absolutely or partly, to the Government, or are more strictly controlled than with us, such rates are not only tolerated but are recognised and properly regulated. The objections to them come naturally enough from producers within short distances of markets. They find it hard to understand why goods carried for, say 100 miles, should pay higher rates than those which are carried 1,000 miles, and the superficial equity of the demand has given it many supporters. But the cry for "equal mileage rates" is founded on ignorance of the technical details of railway working. As pointed out by the author, "mileage run is only one element out of many in the cost of service." The character of the gradients, that of the return traffic, and its amount, the price of coal, the amount of shunting, and many other essential factors, have to be considered ; and again the incidence of fixed charges, such as for station staff and administration are practically in no way influenced by mileage run.

Station-masters and pointsmen must be on duty, and must be paid, whether one train or ten trains pass them daily. If a fair profit is obtained by both trader and carrier between two points A. and B., on a certain rate per ton, there is no essential injustice in quoting the same rate to C., for say double the distance, if the operation still yields a small profit to the carrier and meets the requirements of traffic from that point. To establish equal mileage rates, would undoubtedly promptly reduce the tonnage and the usefulness of any railway, for, "unless a very low scale of rates were adopted, entailing heavy loss, much of the long distance traffic would cease to be carried." The export of food-grains from India or from the United States, over the immense distances, it is now carried between the place of production, and the seaboard is only rendered possible by rates which twenty years ago would have been

thought impossible to consider remunerative, but which nevertheless have, at any rate apparently so far, shown no loss. It has, however, yet to be seen whether such rates as are now in force on the North-Western and East Indian Railways of two pies per ton per mile, will suffice to cover cost of wear and tear of stock and permanent way. This rate is as low as some of the through export rates on American railways; but these again we have no assurance that such "war" rates are profitable, or that due allowance has been made for maintenance, even taking into account, which is very necessary, that the American railways have cost on the average, probably much less than our Indian lines. The whole question, as has been already observed, has been dealt with by Mr. Grierson from one point of view, *viz.*, that railways as commercial investments, must be worked on a commercial basis, and must be made to pay directly. Our English railways being, without exception, the property of companies, this is a natural and legitimate position to take, but he goes still further, to a point to which he cannot be accompanied, in assuming that the prosperity of railway companies implies also that of the trader, and consequently that of the nation. It is sufficient to glance over his book, to see plainly that this cannot be the view of most European countries, in so far that they have reserved very ample powers of control over lines which have been conceded to companies, and have in many cases absorbed the bulk of the railways as State works. The conception of the function of such enterprises on the continent is, in fact, that they are very important monopolies affecting the whole inland carrying trade of a country, and consequently largely influencing the general prosperity of the nation, and the tendency is to withdraw the control of such monopolies from private agencies, and to concentrate them in a more or less degree under a department of the State. This view is gaining ground in England, and has been, though rather fitfully, plainly indicated in the policy of the Indian Government with regard to its railway system; but unfortunately our financial exigencies in this country due in a large measure to loss in exchange on home remittances, has forced our Government to look to the direct profits from their railways as source from which to diminish their deficits, and has consequently made it necessary to defer the fulfilment of any intention that may have existed, of looking to their indirect profits as a material factor in the returns from their investments. In this urgent need for revenue from all and every source, it is not easy to comprehend the present policy of making over the construction and the working of our railways to "assisted" or guaranteed companies with a share of the profits. For what service it may be, indeed, it is frequently, asked, is this surrender made? The only reply

that can be offered is, that it is in return for the service of raising money in the London market, an operation which could be more readily effected directly by the Government, and on easier terms. The character and extent of the control to be exercised over such companies, judging by recent contracts, must practically fall far short of what is needed, if India is to keep pace with other competitors for the trade of the world, or for the proper development of her agricultural production. We are in fact still governed by the fear that the administration of railways by the State may become too large a business, or, that following the ideas of some English writers, it is a business in which a Government cannot be successful. But this is not borne out by facts, and if it became a question as to whether Indian railways had been most generally well managed by companies, or by the officers of Government on State lines, it would probably be found that the latter would have a very good show of hands. The political, fiscal, and administrative objections which are offered in England against State railways, have no validity in this country, and indeed the character of the people, their keen appreciation of the personal or direct action of the "Sircar," coupled with a timid and essentially conservative nature, might well be held to make it almost necessary, that the Government should have unusual, if not complete, power of control over railways in India. The "interests of the shareholders" are not likely to run generally parallel with those who use our Indian railways. The struggle of the shareholders or his agents is for dividend, no matter how made or how large, and the rates which will produce this even up to the maxima allowed under contracts, will be levied regardless of any other object. We are, it is true, to reap our share of this harvest; but this may be dearly got, if it has resulted in strangling some trades altogether, or in general terms, in carrying, say 1,000 tons where 3,000 tons should have been carried with no appreciably less profit. The mute millions we have to deal with, are very feebly represented by the few pushing traders to be found at our principal stations, and are widely different from the eager, assertative clients of railways in Europe, who, whether it is a company or a government to be dealt with, soon find means of making their wants known and their grievances heard. The arrangement made between the Secretary of State and the Indian Midland Company is the most recent, and perhaps the best that can be made short of the absolute construction and working of a line by the State. The line belongs to the Government, and is to be surrendered on repayment of capital outlay in 1910, or in decennial periods after this, and the right is reserved to fix rates and fares from time to time within maxima and minima. For this the Company receives four

per cent. during the continuance of the agreement, and is entitled to one-quarter of the net profits earned over and above this rate of interest. The contract practically makes the Company the agent of the Government for the expenditure on the construction of the line to an extent which must have, and has indeed, involved the appointment of a supervising officer of high standing, to control all designs and outlay. What advantages the Government obtains by this arrangement, it is hard to conceive, as compared with the direct construction and working of the line by its own officers. The capital has been raised at a figure of interest higher by a quarter or even a half per cent., than it could have been got by the Secretary of State direct in the London market, a staff has been employed on the line on far higher salaries than are paid in the Public Works Department, and a quarter of the net profits surrendered in the hope, and it is no more, that through the agency of a company the line may be worked with so much more vigour and skill as to make it worth while to give away a share in the probable increase. One result of this is to throw on the hands of Government a large number of railway officers trained in Indian work, who will now have nothing to do, and who, moreover, if disestablished, must be provided with pensions or gratuities. The arrangements with this Company and with others on the same lines, represent an endeavour to combine the rights of ownership and nearly complete control with the rights of a leaseholder, but it is an agreement in which the latter cannot possibly suffer loss and may, by a judicious secondary management from Calcutta, be enabled to make a further profit, though on grounds which it would be extremely difficult to justify. They will be to all intents lines managed by the State and belonging to the State, and by the stimulus of the chance of a quarter of the net earnings they are expected to exhibit an economy in working and a net return generally better than could be shewn by direct Government administration. It remains to be seen whether such arrangements will as the phrase is "work," or whether as seems probable the duplicate management on such conditions as are indicated in the contracts, will not end in trouble or failure. The mere adjustment and revision of rates in competition with other lines, will be a fruitful source of contention between the Government and the companies, and the tendency to carry out Mr. Grierson's maxim of making merchandize pay all it can afford, will inevitably characterize the action of the companies in all cases where no such competition exists. The experience of working with the East Indian Railway under its present agreement, affords an excellent illustration of this difficulty; but in cases where the realization of excess profits over the guaranteed interest is not in any way so

certain as in this line, the struggles are likely to be bitter and prolonged.

Railway rates have already become an important factor in the economic progress of India, and are destined as our railway system extends to become a burning question, involving interests of the greatest magnitude. It will add infinitely to the difficulty of dealing with such matters if we are found drifting along between one policy and another, as has been done for the last twenty years. As it is, no official, high or low, can rely for more than a twelve month at a time on what the Government intends to do with our railway system. We have at the present day railways made and worked by the State, railways made by the State and leased to companies, railways made by companies assisted and unassisted, and railways made by Native States. These are partly controlled by local Governments, and partly by the Government of India. Some lines in a province are controlled by the local administration, others by the Director-General of Railways, and some by the Government of India direct. This means that questions of rates and administration generally on each are subject to revision or alteration by either or all of these authorities, and in the case of guaranteed lines they are still further hedged in and complicated by the need for reference to Boards of Directors at home. The administration of our Indian railways is in fact nothing better than a patchwork system, exhibiting glaring contrasts of policy, and held together and made to cover our necessities only by incessant references and decisions by the Government. These decisions will, as already observed, and especially in the case of competing lines, involve large interests, and it is very doubtful whether the existing machinery for their satisfactory evolution at present exists. We have the appointment of a Director-General of Railways, which has not always been filled by an officer of wide railway experience, and whose proper duties already heavy enough are greatly, if not hopelessly, increased by his being at the same time a Deputy Secretary to Government. However zealous and able a man may fill this position, it is impossible that he can with such a staff as he has at present, find time to examine and consider the information at hand, even if he can command the technical experience requisite for giving such advice to the Government as will carry due weight with railway companies or commercial men. The solution of this difficulty appears to lie in the establishment of a Railway Board for India, and though the impediments to this are by no means slight ones, it does not seem impossible to overcome them, and at any rate to give it a trial.

H. B.

March 1887.

ART. III.—THREE SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF A GARO.

SINGRIN was a very fine man, but by no means a rich one. He possessed no cultivation of his own, beyond a small patch of land on which he grew a little cotton. He was, however, well content with his lot, as he always had enough to eat, and his tailor's bills were not heavy; in fact, a few annas would at any time cover the expense of a new outfit, and he did not require one very often. A string of beads and a narrow strip of cloth provided him with all the clothing he required.

He did not, therefore, want a wife to attend to his wardrobe, and yet the want of a wife was the one grievance that prevented his life from being one of ideal happiness—the one crumpled rose leaf in his existence. A good stout wife to carry his basket for him, was the one thing necessary to make him perfectly happy.

Garo wives are not to be had for the asking, and having disposed of the ashes of the first young woman who had done him the honor to select him for her husband, he was obliged to wait until it pleased another to propose to him. The cruel fair, upon whom he had fixed his somewhat mercenary affections, had disregarded his advances, and asked another young Garo brave, to share her heart and home.

"I like Singrin well enough," she had wisely argued, "but if I marry him, I shall have to carry his basket, and if I marry Frang, I shall live in the station and have no basket to carry."

So she married Frang, who was a Dobashia (interpreter), and wore white cloths, and Singrin resigned himself to his fate. Some years passed, and no one fell in love with him. He was better looking than most of his countrymen, but good looks go for nothing amongst his people. Perhaps it was the fact of his having a beard that made the Garo girls shy about proposing to him; beards being by no means common amongst their countrymen. Perhaps he did not pay them sufficient attention, or take the trouble to make himself agreeable to them. Garo girls are as partial to love-making as the rest of Eve's daughters, although they come of such a matter-of-fact unromantic race. They reserve to themselves the right of selecting their husbands, and it would be an unpardonable breach of Garo etiquette for the lover to pop the question, but they have no objection to his responding to their modest advances, or even to his openly making love to them.

Whatever may have been the cause, Singrin had found no

second wife, and lived on in the village Nokphantee, or Bachelors' Chummery, for several years. He would have been content to have lived there for the rest of his life, but for that one drawback—he had no one to carry his basket.

Whenever he had a load of raw cotton to take to the hát for sale, he thought regretfully of his lonely state, and envied Frang for having a wife to carry his basket for him, if ever he required her to do it.

"Wah! wah!" he exclaimed one day as he toiled along the narrow footpath that led from his village to the station, with a well filled basket on his back. "How heavy this is, what a lucky man Frang is!"

Placing the objectionable burden on the ground, he sat down to rest. Presently Frang and his wife appeared in sight, both of them trudging along with baskets on their backs. Their countenances were far from cheerful, and the woman began to explain the reason of their sudden appearance on the scene with a high-toned volubility that spoke very plainly of angry disgust:—

"He has lost his place," she said, as she impatiently freed her head from the strap that supported her basket, and placed it against the high bank at the side of the pathway. "He has been turned out, and it's all his own fault. We have to go back to the village and work. We are carrying all our things there now. He has lost his place. I knew he would, he never would be careful. To think he should be so stupid as to let the Sahib find out that he was telling a lie."

"Yes," said poor Frang humbly, "it was very stupid of me. I did not think the Burra Sahib knew so much Garo. I only altered a few words when Rengrin was giving his evidence against Reshin. Reshin asked me not to repeat anything Rengrin said that might make the case go against him; if he won the case, he was to have given me—well, never mind, he won't win the case now; the Burra Sahib found me out, and turned me off."

"Who will take your place?" asked Singrin.

"I don't know, and I don't care. Whoever gets it, will be able to make a lot of money soon, for the Burra Sahib is going away, and the new Sahib will not understand any Garo for a long time."

"And, you have lost the chance," scolded his irate wife, "how could you be so."

"Never mind, never mind," interrupted Singrin good temperedly, "it is no use making a noise about it now. Tell me Frang, is it very hard work that the Dobashias have to do?"

"Hard work!—it is the easiest thing in the world to be a Dobashia."

"And you've lost it," put in his wife.

"All you have to do," he continued, "is to listen to what the witnesses say, and tell the Sahib as much of it as you like. These Sahibs don't understand Garo when first they come up here, and you can tell them anything you like, but this Burra Sahib has learnt a good deal now, and can understand too much. The new one will not understand anything the witnesses say."

"But is there no one who can tell him if you invent a lot of lies?"

"No one, the head clerk knows enough Garo to tell on us, and some of the constables; but it is no business of theirs, and I sent the head clerk all the wood he wanted and some baskets of cotton."

"I can do that," said Singrin, swinging his load on his back again. "Salaam, my friends, I am going to carry my cotton to the head clerk, and see if he will say a good word for me. I will be a Dobashia now, and you shall carry Frang's basket for him Keree—salaam, salaam, I must hurry on, or I may be too late."

FIVE YEARS LATER.

THE Deputy Commissioner's Cutcherry was full of Garos. An important case was being heard, and considerable excitement prevailed. There was some hitch in the proceedings, some difficult piece of evidence to be clearly explained. The two Dobashias who were present, gave different interpretations of it, and the perplexed Deputy Commissioner endeavoured in vain to get to the bottom of the contradictory statements.

"Where is Singrin?" he exclaimed in despair; "he is the only man in the place who knows anything. Why he is not here?"

"Sir," answered the head clerk gravely, "your honor gave him two days' leave; he is about to marry a wife."

"What a nuisance! How many wives does the fellow want? He has several already."

"Sir, this woman is possessed of large cultivations."

"When will he be back?"

"Sir, he will return to his duties to-morrow."

"Then I shall put off the case until then. These two rascals are trying to make up their own cases; they have been bribed, I suppose. Singrin is the only one I can trust. He knows more about the language and the customs than anyone else in the hills."

"He is the biggest rascal in the place, too," thought the Deputy Commissioner as he walked slowly to his bungalow; "but I get the truth out of him, for he takes bribes from both sides, and does not care which wins. He stands to win whoever loses. He

will have both those men in his village this evening, and take all he can get from each of them ; but I shall get to the bottom of it all to-morrow. He knows better than to trim the cases now. I know the language too well—all but those wretched localisms. I wish I knew what that man meant to-day."

TEN YEARS LATER.

"FRANG! come and have some liquor, sit down and listen to my *bājā*."

Singrin was lolling on a drawing-room couch, the rich covering of which contrasted curiously with the bamboo-walls and mud-floor of his hut. A gorgeous cap, embroidered in gold, rested on his well-oiled locks. His garments were spotlessly white, and his bare feet were thrust into a pair of native shoes of a singularly uncomfortable pattern. Immediately in front of him stood a large pier-glass in which he could see his manly form reflected, without taking the trouble to rise. At his elbow a lau (gourd) full of Garo liquor rested on a Gipsy table. At the further end of the hut, a plump young Garo woman was amusing herself and him by banging on an old piano with both hands. A group of women sat round her, lost in admiration of the fiendish sounds she extracted from the instrument, and some dozen or so of dusky babies, of all ages, crawled about the floor.

After taking a deep draught of the liquor, Frang seated himself on the ground by the couch.

"You are quite a big man now, Singrin," he remarked with a tinge of envy in his voice; "you have made yourself like unto a rajah. All these houses belong to you; where did you get the money to buy all these fine things? Is the whole village yours?"

Singrin nodded. "All are mine; this is called Singrin's village."

"How did you get the money?" asked Frang.

"I did not buy the houses," replied Singrin with a smile of self-satisfaction that was particularly galling to the unsuccessful man; "my wives' relations built them. I earned the money for all the rest."

"But your pay is only——"

"My pay!" interrupted Singrin contemptuously, "as if my pay was all I earned. When first I came here that was all I earned, because I had to tell the truth carefully. When the Burra Sahib had learnt to trust me, I told it when it suited me. Then I married a wife. She had property, and her relations were useful to me. I was lucky, a new Burra Sahib came, who did not know Garo, and I made a lot of rupees. But I was more careful than you were, and when he learnt

Garo, I only told a lie when I was sure he could not find it out. But I was useful ; that is the great thing. I married another wife, and her relations worked for me, and then a third, and a fourth. There is my fourteenth, playing the *bájá* like a lady. All their relations work for me. They want houses, and their own people build them. They all have cultivations ; their own people work for them, and get their food for working."

"I can give the Burra Sahib all the labor he wants," he continued complacently. "He says, 'Singrin, I want forty coolies.' I send to my wives' villages and get them ; no one dares to say 'no' to me. I am too strong. He says, 'I want bamboos.' I send all my new relations to get them. He can't get on without me now."

"There is another new Burra Sahib coming soon," said Frang, with a grin of satisfaction. "He may be able to do without you."

Singrin smiled. "The Burra Sahib's head clerk owes me some money. The second clerk will be turned out if I go. I can tell on him. There is no one in the Burra Sahib's office who does not feel an interest in my remaining here as the head Dobashia. You see what it is to know when to lie safely, Frang. You lied at the wrong time, but I take care never to lie at all, unless it is safe, and then to do it boldly. If the new Burra Sahib does not want me, I can retire and be Burra Sahib, too. I have bought the Sahib's cows and his *bájá*, and his glass there ; don't I look grand in it ? and this thing I'm lying on. I can drink liquor every night, and have scores of women to make it, and to carry my baskets. Keree made a mistake when she married you, and you made one when you invented lies at the wrong time."

"And you will make a mistake, too, some day."

"No, I will make no mistake ; when I feel inclined to make one, I will remember you. You might have been here instead of me."

Frang groaned.

"But you could never have got on as I have, because—well because, you see you are only Frang and I am Singrin !

ESMÉ.

ART. IV.—THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE HINDUS IN
THE RIG-VEDA PERIOD.

IT is a matter of sincere regret that no translation of the *Rig-Veda Sanhitā* has yet been published in English. For many reasons this collection of the ancient hymns of the Hindus is a work of remarkable interest. The work has been called the most ancient book in the library of mankind, and it is beyond question the earliest work in the Aryan world. But it is not the antiquity of the volume that makes it so remarkable. What gives it an almost unique value is that, in this ancient collection of hymns to the powers and manifestations of nature, we trace the commencement of the legends of all Aryan nations; we see the rise and growth, as it were, of all Aryan religions. Zeus and Athena, Jupiter and Vulcan and Uranus, Tiu and Zio, Ahura Mazda and Mithra and Verethraghna are so many meaningless names to us, until we open the ancient volume of the Hindus and trace the conception of these Aryan gods to the manifestations of nature which inspired in the common ancestors of Hindus and Persians, of Greeks, Romans and Tutons, feelings of veneration and love.

And if such be the value of the Rig-Veda to all Aryan nations, the value of the work to the Indo-Aryans or Hindus is infinitely more. It presents us with the only account extant of the early civilization of the first Aryan settlers in India; and it also enables us to trace the Hindu religion to its earliest source and simplest phase. The historian of India and the religious enquirer must alike turn to this one remarkable volume for the first and most valuable materials of their researches.

English translations of this work were commenced, first by Stevenson, and then by Roer, but neither of these scholars proceeded very far with their work. Over forty years ago, when Professor Max Müller commenced the publication of his magnificent edition of the work with Sayana's commentary, Professor H. H. Wilson, then the greatest of English antiquarians, commenced an English translation of this great work. He lived to complete the translation, but only a little over one-half of the work has been published, the remainder has not been given to the world. It is said that the German scholars have made such wonderful progress in Vedic scholarship since Dr. Wilson's time, that his translation, based on Sayana's commentary only, is no longer acceptable in Europe. Hence, the publication of his work has never been translated.

A complete translation was published in France, nearly forty years ago, by M. Langlois. M. Langlois was a man of cultured

taste and of imagination, and his translation is based on what he imagines to be the true sense of the Vedic hymns, and is therefore of small value to scholars. Two translations of the work have been published in the German language. Grassman is a poet, and his translation of the Rig-Veda into German poetry, although a most creditable performance, does not meet the requirements of the scholar. Ludwig's translation with notes into German is the best, and the only scholar-like translation of the Rig-Veda into any European language. He is more true to Sayana's interpretation than Grassman.*

It is not our object in the present paper to discuss abstruse questions or debatable points of Vedic study. Our object is to write a simple and popular account of the social life and civilization of our early forefathers, as reflected in their immortal work, and to string together within the limits of an article some of the most interesting passages in the Veda, illustrating the manners and customs of the time. We shall try to see the early Hindus as they were over three thousand years ago, as they lived and acted and thought. We shall try to review, as faithfully as we can, their arts and civilization, their social laws and domestic life, their wars and their peaceful occupations. To this task we now address ourselves.

I.—The first home of the Hindus.

The early Aryans of India were an agricultural and pastoral race who lived on the banks of the Indus and its five tributaries. The banks of these rivers were fertile, and agriculture was the national occupation of the Indo-Aryans, and we have only rare allusions to those migratory habits which are peculiar to all nations essentially pastoral. Such migrations from place to place in quest of pasture lands were probably not so frequently undertaken by the Aryans even in their original home in Central Asia as by the Turanians and other nomad races. In India the habit was almost entirely given up.

As might be expected, we have frequent allusions to the Indus and its five tributaries. Hymn 75 of the 10th Mandala is a remarkable instance, and we will give our readers a translation of the entire hymn.

"I. O ye streams! The bard celebrates your excellent prowess in the house of the worshipper. They flow in three systems, seven streams in each system. The prowess of the Indus is superior to that of all others.

* The present writer takes this opportunity to acknowledge his obligations to the Government of Bengal by whose assistance he has been able to publish a complete translation of the Rig-Veda in the Bengali language. This is the first complete translation of the work into an Indian Vernacular.

"2. Oh Indus! when you flow towards lands rich in horses and in corn, Varuna opens out the way for you. You flow over the spacious path on the land. You shine above all flowing rivers.

"3. The mighty sound of the Indus ascends from the earth and spreads over the sky! She flows with mighty force and in radiant form. Her mighty sound is heard as if rains are descending from the clouds with great noise. The Indus comes like a bull, bellowing as it comes.

"4. As cows bring milk to their calves, even thus, O Indus! the other streams come sounding to you with their waters! As a king marches with his forces to battle, even thus you march in front with two systems of rivers flowing by your side.*

"5. O Ganga! O Yamuna (Jumna) and Sarasvati, and Satadru (Sutlej), and Parushni (Ravi)! Share these my words among you. O river combined with Asikni (Chinab)! O Vitastá (Jhilmam)! O Arjikiyá (Baja), combined with Sasomá (Indus)! Hear my words.

"6. O Indus! first thou flowest united Trishtámá, with Susartu and Rasá and the Sveti. You unite Krumu (Kurum river) and Gomati (Gomal river) with Kubha (Cabul river) and Mehatnu. You proceed together with these rivers.

"7. The irresistible Indus proceeds straight, white and dazzling in colour! She is great, and her waters fill all sides with mighty force. Of all the flowing rivers, none is flowing like her! She is strange like a mare,—beautiful like a well-developed woman!

"8. The Indus is ever young and beautiful. She is rich in horses, in chariots, and in garments; she is rich in gold and is beauteously clad! She is rich in corn and in wool and in straw, and has covered herself with sweet flowers.

"9. The Indus has fastened horses to her chariot, and has brought food therein to this sacrifice. Her prowess is extolled as mighty; she is irresistible and great and rich in her fame!"

The hymn is remarkable for its power and its beauty, and remarkable also for the extensive vision of the poet, who, as Professor Max Müller says, takes in at one swoop three great river systems, those flowing from the north-west into the Indus, those joining it from the north-east, and in the distance the Ganges and the Jumna with their tributaries. "It shews the widest geographical horizon of the Vedic poets, confined by the snowy mountains in the north, the Indus and the range

* I.e., the tributaries coming from Cabul in the west, and the tributaries flowing through the Punjab in the east, as named in the two following verses.

of the Suleiman mountains in the west, the Indus or the sea in the south, and the valley of the Jumna and Ganges in the east. Beyond that the world, though open, was unknown to the Vedic poets." *India, what can it teach us.*

The frequent allusions to the rivers of the Punjab leave no doubt that the Punjab was the first home of the Aryans in India. These rivers are sometimes spoken of together as the "seven rivers," and it is explained in one place (VII, 36, 6), that the seven rivers have the Indus for their mother and the Sarasvati as the seventh. The Indus and its five branches still water the primeval home of the early Hindus, but the Sarasvati which was the most sacred of ancient rivers and was worshipped even in that remote time as a goddess, has since ceased to flow. Antiquarians state that it was a stream which flowed between the Indus and the Jumna, but has been lost in the deserts of Rajputana.

It would be foreign to our purpose to cite all the allusions in the Rig-Veda to the different rivers and localities of the Punjab, but a few instances may interest our readers.

In I, 126, 1 we have mention of a beneficent king Bhavayavya who lived on the banks of the Indus, and who rewarded the bard (who sings his praise) with a hundred gold pieces (*Nishka*), a hundred horses and a hundred bullocks. The beneficence of kings towards the rishis and bards of ancient times is frequently extolled.

In II, 15, 6 we have an allusion to the Indus, flowing to the north. This must refer to some bend of the river where it turns northward, or perhaps to the course of the river before it turns southwards through the mountains of Kashmir.

There is a remarkable passage in IV, 30, 18 which shews that, although the Hindus in the time of the Rig-Veda had their principal settlements in the Punjab, still enterprising leaders and colonists penetrated beyond the Jumna and the Ganges, and fought for a footing even on the distant banks of the Sarayu which is in modern Oude. We are told of Arna and Chitraratha, two *Arya*, i. e., Aryan leaders, who perished there. Still more remarkable is the allusion to the aboriginal tribes of *Kitaka* (which is usually identified with South Behar). In III, 53, 14, the Aryan bard enquires of Indra with that naive simplicity which is the charm of the Rig-Veda,—

"Of what use to you are the cows of the *Kitakas*. Their milk is not mixed with the Soma-juice, nor poured in the sacrificial vessel. Bring them to us. Bring the wealth of Pramaganda to us. O Indra ! bestow on us the wealth of these low men." The eminent German scholar Weber accepts the opinion that the *Kitakas* in this passage are the people of Magadha or South Behar, and that Pramaganda was the

aboriginal king of the tribe. He adds the suggestive remarks that the native aborigines being particularly vigorous, retained much of their influence even after they were Brahminised, and "that is how we have to account for the special sympathy and success which Buddhism met with in Magadha."—*Indian Literature*, p. 79.

But although enterprising bands of Hindus had pushed forward as far as modern Oude or even South Behar, still the *father land* of the early Hindus was the Punjab, and allusions to the rivers of the Punjab are frequent. (III, 23, 4 ; III, 33, 1 ; IV, 22, 2 ; VI, 61, 10 ; VI, 7, 6 ; VIII, 21, 17 ; VIII, 20, 25 ; VIII, 24, 27 ; VIII, 64, 11 ; VIII, 74, 15 ; VIII, 96, 1 ; IX, 65, 23 ; IX, 66, 6 ; IX, 113, 2 ; X, 64, 9, &c., &c.)

There is one somewhat curious passage in which the Rishi Visva mitra encumbered with the chariots and horses and other rewards bestowed on him by king Sudása, finds a difficulty in crossing the confluence of the Beya and the Sutlej, and pours out an entire hymn (III, 33) to appease the anger of the roaring flood ! We shall subsequently have occasion to say more of this king Sudása, who was a mighty conqueror and subjugated ten surrounding kings, who conquered many Aryan tribes in the Punjab, and was the victor of numerous battles which form the theme of some spirited hymns. This mighty conqueror seems also to have been a patron of learning and religion, and liberally rewarded the sages of the house of Visva mitra and of Vasistha alike. As a consequence there was a jealousy between these two priestly houses to which we will allude further on.

While references to the rivers of the Punjab are thus frequent, allusions to the Ganges and the Jumna are rare. We have already translated a hymn in which both those rivers are named.

The only other passage in the Rig-Veda where the Ganges is alluded to, is VI, 45, 31, where the high banks of the Ganges are the subject of a simile. The *famed* cattle on the pasture-fields along the banks of the Jumna are alluded to in V, 52, 17.

Thus the land of the five rivers was the earliest home of the Aryan settlers in India, and it would seem that the settlers along the five rivers gradually formed themselves into five tribes or nations. The "five lands" (*Pancha-kshiti*) are alluded to in I, 7, 9 ; I, 176, 3 ; VI, 46, 7, and in other places. Similarly we read of the "five cultivating tribes" (*Pancha-krishti*) in II, 2, 10 ; IV, 38, 10 ; and other places, and we read of "five peoples" (*Panch-jana*) in VI, 11, 4 ; VI, 51, 11 ; VIII, 32, 22 ; IX, 65, 23, and other places.

It was these "five tribes" of simple, bold and enterprising Aryans, living by agriculture and by pasture on the fertile banks

of the Indus and its tributaries, who were the progenitors of the great Hindu nation which has now spread from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and in number forms one-sixth of the human race !

II.—Agriculture, Pasture and Commerce.

The main industry of the ancient Hindus, as of the modern Hindus, was agriculture, and as might be expected, we have frequent allusions to it in the Rig-Veda. The very name *Arya* by which the Aryan conquerors of India have distinguished themselves in numerous places from the aborigines or *Dâses*, is said to come from a root which means to cultivate. Professor Max Müller has traced the progress of this word all over the Aryan world from *Iran* or Persia to *Erin* or Ireland, and argues with considerable force that the word was invented in the primeval home of the Aryans in Central Asia to indicate their partiality to cultivation, as distinguished from the nomadic habits of the Turanians whose name indicates their rapid journies or the fleetness of their horse. Certain it is, that the word *Arya* is the one word in the Rig-Veda which distinguishes the conquerors as a class, or even as a caste, from the aborigines of the country. And there are remarkable passages also which shew that the new settlers, in calling themselves *Aryas*, had not altogether forgotten the real signification of the word. One instance will suffice.

“O ye two Asvins! you have displayed your glory by teaching the *Arya* man to cultivate with the plough and to sow corn, and by giving him rains for (the production of) his food ; and by destroying the *Dasyu* by your thunderbolt.” I, 117, 21.

There are two other words in the Rig-Veda which are synonymous not so much with the Aryan tribe, but rather with man generally ; and both of them come from roots which indicate cultivation. The words are *Charshana* (I, 3, 7, &c.), and *Krishti* (I, 4, 6 ; II, 2, 10 ; IV, 38, 60, &c.), and both these words come from modifications of the same root *Krish* or *Chrish*, to cultivate.

Thus the very names which the Aryan conquerors of India gave themselves are names which indicate that useful occupation which distinguishes the civilized man from the barbarian, *viz.*, cultivation of the soil.

There are numerous direct allusions in the Rig-Veda to agriculture, but the most remarkable among them is a hymn which is dedicated to a supposed god of agriculture, the Lord of the Field, as he is called, and which will translate in full.

“ I. We will win (cultivate) this field with the Lord of the Field ; may he nourish our cattle and our horses ; may he bless us thereby.

"2. O Lord of the Field! bestow on us sweet and pure and butter-like and delicious and copious rain, even as cows give us milk. May the lords of the sacrifice bless us.

"3. May the plants be sweet unto us; may the skies and the rains and the firmament be full of sweetness; may the Lord of the Field be gracious to us. We will follow him uninjured by enemies.

"4. Let the bullocks work merrily; let the men work merrily; let the plough move on merrily! Fasten the fastenings merrily; ply the goad merrily.

"5. O Suna and Sira! accept this hymn. Moisten this earth with the rain you have created in the sky.

"6. O fortunate Furrow! proceed onwards! We pray unto thee; do thou bestow on us wealth and an abundant crop.

"7. May Indra accept this Furrow; may Pushan lead her onwards. May she be filled with water, and yield us corn year after year.*

"8. Let the ploughshares turn up the sod merrily; let the men follow the bullocks merrily; may Parjanya moisten the earth with sweet rains. O Suna and Sira! bestow on us happiness. IV, 57.

We shall seek in vain in the entire range of later Sanscrit literature for a passage in which the humble hopes and wishes of simple agriculturists are so naturally described. This is the unique charm of the Rig-Veda as a literary composition. Whether it is an account of a battle with aborigines, or a prayer to friendly Indra to come and have a cup of soma, or a song of the simple-cultivator,—the Rig-Veda hymn always takes us nearer to the simple workings of a simple but straightforward and manly heart, than anything in the literature of later times.

We will translate a portion of another hymn, also dedicated to agriculture.

"3. Fasten the ploughs, spread out the yokes, and sow seeds on this field which has been prepared. Let the corn grow with our hymns; let the scythes fall on the neighbouring field where the corn is ripe.

"4. The ploughs have been fastened; the labourers have spread the yokes; the wise men are uttering prayers to gods.

* In these two remarkable verses the furrow, *Sitá*, is addressed as a female, and asked to yield copious harvests. In the Yajurveda also, the furrow is similarly worshipped. And when the Aryans gradually conquered the whole of India, and primeval jungles and waste lands were marked with the furrow, the furrow or *Sitá* assumed a more definite human character, and became the heroine of the National Epic which describes the Aryan conquest of Southern India!

"5. Prepare troughs for the drinking of the animals. Fasten the leather-string and let us take out water from this deep and goodly well which never dries up.

"6. The troughs have been prepared for the animals, the leather-string shines in the deep and goodly well which never dries up, and the water is easily got. Take out water from the well.

"7. Refresh the horses, take up the corn stacked on the field, and make a cart which will convey it easily. This well, full of water for the drinking of animals, is one *drona* in extent, and there is a stone wheel to it. And the reservoir for the drinking of men is one *skanda*. Fill it with water." X, 101.

Irrigation and cultivation in the Punjab are only possible by means of wells, and wells are reserved also for the drinking of men and of beasts; and it is not surprising, therefore, that we should find references to wells in the Rig-Veda. Another remarkable fact which appears from the passages translated above, is that horses were used for cultivation purposes in those days, a custom still common in Europe, but not in India in modern times.

In X, 25, 4, and in many other places, we have allusions to wells. In X, 93, 13 we are told how water was raised from wells for irrigation purposes. The contrivance is the same as is still in vogue in Northern India; a number of pots are tied to a string, and as the pots go up and down by the movement of a wheel, they are filled in the well and pulled up, and emptied and sent down again. The contrivance is called *ghati chakra* or the circle of pots, and I think bears the same name up to the present day.

In X, 99, 4, we have another allusion to irrigation of fields by means of canals which are replenished with water by means of a *drona*. And in X, 68, 1 we are told that cultivators, who irrigated their fields, kept away birds by uttering loud cries.

As stated above the allusions to pasture are by no means so frequent as the allusions to agriculture: Pushan is the god of shepherds,—he is the sun as viewed by shepherds, and is supposed to protect them and travellers generally in their wanderings over the country. And here and there in a hymn to Pushan we find that the Aryans of India had brought with them recollections and songs about those migrations which they occasionally undertook in Central Asia, if not, after their settlement in India. We translate one such hymn below:—

"1. O Pushan! help us to finish our journey and remove all dangers. O son of the cloud! do thou march before us.

"2. O Pushan! do thou remove from our path those who would lead us astray, those who strike and plunder and do wrong

"3. Do thou drive away that wily robber who intercepts journeys.

"4. O Pushan! do thou trample under thy foot the vile carcass of him who plunders us in both ways (by stealth and by force,) and who commits outrages.

"5. O wise Pushan, destroyer of enemies! we implore of thee the protection with which thou didst shield and encourage our forefathers.

"6. O Pushan, possessed of all wealth, possessed of golden weapons, and chief among beings! bestow on us thy riches.

"7. Lead us so that enemies who intercept may not harm us; lead us over easy and pleasant paths. O Pushan! devise means (for our safety) on this way.

"8. Lead us to pleasant tracts covered with green grass; let us not meet with any unforeseen danger on the way. O Pushan! devise means (for our safety) on this way.

"9. Be powerful (in thy protection); fill us (with riches): bestow on us (wealth). Make us strong and give us food. O Pushan! devise means (for our safety) on this way.

"10. We do not blame Pushan, but we extol him in our hymns. We solicit wealth from the handsome Pushan." I, 42.

There is also another interesting hymn on the practice of taking out cattle to pasture fields, and then bringing them back. A few verses are worth translating.

"4. We call the cowherd, let him take out these cows; let him pasture them in the fields; let him know and pick out the animals; let him bring them back to the house; let him pasture them on all sides.

"5. The cowherd seeks for the cows, brings them back to the house and pastures them on all sides. May he come home safe.

"8. O cowherd! pasture the cows in all directions, and bring them back. Pasture them in various parts of the earth, and then bring them back." X, 19.

There are allusions in the preceding passages to robbers who infested outlying tracts of the country, probably to cattle-lifters and thieves among the aboriginal races who hung around the Aryan villages and clearances and lived by intercepting peaceful industry. We shall speak of them further on.

Allusions to trade and commerce must be necessarily rare in a collection of hymns to gods, but nevertheless we are here and there surprised by passages which throw a curious light on the manners of the times. Loans and usury were well understood in those days, and Rishis (who, we should always remember, were worldly men in the Rig-Veda) occasionally lament their state of indebtedness with the simplicity of primitive times. In one remarkable verse again we are reminded

of the finality of a sale transaction, when once the sale is completed.

"One sells a large quantity for a small price, and then goes to the purchaser and denies the sale, and asks for a higher price. But the man who has sold, cannot exceed the price once fixed on the plea that he has given a large quantity. Whether the price was adequate or inadequate, the price fixed at the time of sale must hold good." IV, 24, 9.

A passage like the above would indicate the existence of current coins for the purposes of buying and selling. We have numerous instances of Rishis acknowledging the gift of a hundred pieces of gold (V, 27, 2, &c.), and there can be no doubt pieces of gold of a certain fixed value were used as money and indicated in these passages. Professor Wilson in his note on the above verse (V, 27, 2) thinks "that pieces of money are intended; for if we may trust Aryan, the Hindus had coined money before Alexander." We must admit, however, that there is an absence of positive proof on the subject. The word *Nishka* (I, 126, 1, &c.) is often used in the Rig-Veda in a dubious sense. In some passages it may mean money, in others it means a golden ornament for the neck. The two interpretations are not necessarily contradictory, for in India golden coins have habitually been used as ornaments for the neck since times immemorial.

On the other hand, there are distinct references to voyages by sea, though of course only a coasting trade could have been possible in those days. The shipwreck of Bhujyu, and his deliverance by the gods Asvins, is constantly alluded to (I, 116, 3, &c.), and in I, 25, 7 the god Varuna is said to know the paths of the birds through the sky and the paths of the ships over the sea. In IV, 55, 6 the poet refers to the "people who desiring to acquire wealth pray to the sea before undertaking a voyage;" while in VII, 88, 3 Vasishtha says:—

"When Varuna and I went on a boat, and took her out to sea, I lived in the boat floating on the water and was happy in it, rocking beautifully (in the waves").

While there are these and other distinct allusions to sea voyage, there is absolutely no prohibition against it in the Rig-Veda.

III.—Food, clothing and the arts of peace.

Barley and wheat seem to have been the principal produce of the field, and the principal articles of food. The names of grain found in the Rig-Veda are somewhat misleading, as they have come to bear a different signification in modern days from what they had in the ancient times. Thus the word *yava* which in modern Sanscrit implies barley only, was used in the Veda

for implying food-grains generally, including wheat and barley. And the word *dhána* which in Bengal at least means paddy or rice, implies in the Rig-Veda fried barley, which was used as food and offered to the gods. (III, 35, 3 ; VI, 13, 4 ; VI, 29, 4, &c.)

We also find mention of various kinds of cakes prepared from these grains and used as food and offered to the gods. *Pakti* (from *pach*, to cook or to prepare) means prepared cakes, and various other terms like *purodása* and *apupa* and *karam-bha* are also used. (III, 52, 1 ; IV, 24, 1, &c.)

It may be easily imagined that animal food was largely used by the early Hindus of the Punjab. We have frequent allusions to the sacrifice and to the cooking of cows, buffaloes and bulls.* (I, 61, 12 ; II, 7, 5 ; V, 29, 7 & 8 ; VI, 17, 11 ; VI, 16, 47 ; VI, 29, 1 ; X, 27, 2 ; X, 28, 3, &c., &c.)

In X, 89, 14 there is a mention of slaughter-house where cows are killed, and in X, 91, 14 there is an allusion to the sacrifice of horses, bulls and rams. The allusions to the sacrifice of horse are extremely rare, shewing that although the custom was introduced into India by the early Aryans from their primitive home in Central Asia, the flesh of horse as an article of food soon fell into disuse. In later times the sacrifice of the horse or the *Asvamedha* was performed on rare occasions with great pomp and circumstance by powerful kings after they had subdued their neighbours and assumed a title answering to the Imperial title in Europe. There can be no doubt this great imperial rite rose out of the simple sacrifice of the horse, practised in primitive times, when horse was an article of food. The pomp and ceremony as well as certain extremely nasty practices connected with the horse-sacrifice in later days, were unknown in Vedic times.

A fairly complete account of the sacrifice of the horse, such as it prevailed in the Vedic times, is to be found in hymn 162 of the first Mandala of the Rig-Veda. It is too long for translation, but a few verses may interest our readers.

“2. The men have brought a goat to be sacrificed before the horse which is covered with gold trappings. The piebald goat bleats and goes towards the horse ; may it be welcome food for Indra and Pushan.

“11. O horse ! the gravy which comes out of your body when you are cooked, and which remains sticking to the roasting spit, should not fall to the ground nor get mixed with the grass. The gods are eager for the food, let all be offered to them.

“12. Those who stand around and view the cooking of the

* See Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. I, Article *Beef in Ancient India*.

horse ; those who say, " its smell is delicious, take it down now," and those who wait for begging a portion of the meat, let the aims of all of them be like our aims.

" 13. The stick which is put into the boiling pot to examine the boiling, the vessels in which the gravy is preserved, the covers which keep it warm, the cane by which the body of the horse is first marked, and the knife by which the body is severed (along the lines marked), all these implements help in the cooking of the horse.

" 18. The knife goes as a friend of the gods, to separate the thirty-four bent ribs of the horse. Cut them out so, that the separate parts may not be cut or mangled. With a loud voice and with circumspection cut away along the joints.

" 20. Go to the gods, O horse ! let not thy dear body pain thee ; let not the knife rest long on thy limbs ; let not a greedy and ignorant executioner cut thy body needlessly, disregarding the separate limbs."

Who could have believed that this simple horse-sacrifice of the Rig-Veda, the carving and the roasting and the boiling of horse for worship and for the purposes of food, would have developed into the imperial ceremony of *Asvamedha* of later times ? But many a practice which we see in its simple and natural aspect in the Veda, has developed into mighty and often monstrous ceremonies in later days, and many a simple Vedic allegory relating to the striking phenomena of nature has also developed into equally monstrous Pauranik legends ! Herein constitutes the invaluable worth of the Veda, we trace the Hindu rites and institutions and the Hindu religion itself to their simple natural beginnings.

The fermented juice of the plant called *Soma* appears to have been the only intoxicating drink used in the Vedic times. So much were the ancient Aryans addicted to this drink, that Soma was soon worshipped as a deity, both in India and in Iran, (under the name *Haoma* in the latter country,) and we find one entire *mandala* or book of the Rig-Veda dedicated to this deity ! The Indo-Aryans appear to have been more addicted to fermented and intoxicating Soma than their peaceful brethren of Iran, and many are the allusions in the Zendavesta to the hateful customs of their Indian brethren ! Dr. Rajendra Lala thinks that this was one great reason of those dissensions which broke out among the primitive Aryans in their Central-Asian home, and which led to the expulsion of one section of them to India, in other words, to the conquest and colonization of India by Aryans !

The process by which the Soma-juice was prepared, has been fully described in IX, 66, and in other hymns. We will translate a few verses from this hymn.

"2. O Soma! your two leaves were placed obliquely, and you attained a wonderful beauty thereby.

"3. O Soma! the leaves covered thee—a creeper—on all sides, and you flourished in all seasons.

"7. O Soma! you have been crushed. You flow as a stream to Indra, scattering joy on all sides; you bestow immortal food.

"8. Seven women stir thee with their fingers, blending their voices in a song to thee. You remind the sacrificer of his duties at the sacrifice.

"9. You are mixed with water with a pleasing sound, and some fingers stir you over a strainer of sheep's wool and filter you. Your particles are thrown up then, and a sound arises from the woollen strainer.

"11. The sheep's wool strainer is placed on a vessel, and the fingers repeatedly stir the Soma, which sends out a sweet stream into the vessel.

"13. O Soma! you are (then) mixed with milk. Water runs towards thee with a pleasing sound."

From this description it would appear that the juice of Soma used to be taken much as *Siddhi* is taken in our times, mixed with milk. The poets of the Rig-Veda go into ecstasies over the virtues and the exhilarating powers of the Soma, and some of their descriptions have developed into strange Pauranik legends in subsequent time. One or two verses will illustrate this:—

"O Soma! there is nothing so bright as thou. When thou art poured out, thou welcomest all the gods to bestow on them immortality." IX, 108, 3.

"The praiseworthy Soma has from ancient times been the drink of the gods. He was milked from the hidden recesses of the sky. He was created for Indra, and was extolled." IX, 110, 8.

"In that realm where there is perennial light, and where the Heaven is placed, O Soma! lead me to that deathless and immortal realm. Flow thou for Indra." IX, 113, 7.

Such passages as these are to be found throughout the ninth book of the Rig-Veda. Who could have guessed that the strange Pauranik legend of the churning of the ocean and the discovery of the *amrita*, or immortal drink, could have arisen from these simple Vedic descriptions of Soma? The sky in the Veda is considered watery, and is often confused with the sea,—and the milking of Soma from the sky would, with the help of a strong Pauranik imagination, be translated into the churning of the ocean for the *amrita*!

It would appear from many passages in the Rig-Veda that many arts were carried to a high state of excellence

Weaving was well known of course, and deft female fingers plied the warp and the woof in ancient times as in modern days. (II, 3, 6; II, 38, 4, &c.) In one curious passage (VI, 9, 2) the Rishi laments his ignorance of the mysteries of religious rites by saying: "I know not the warp and I know not the woof" of religious rites. And in another place (X, 26, 6) the weaving and bleaching of sheep's wool is attributed to the god Pushan, who we have already seen is the god of shepherds.

Every Aryan village had probably its barber then as now, and the clearances of forests by fire, are in one passage somewhat mysteriously described as the *shaving* of the earth (I, 164, 44.) Carpentry was also well known, and we have frequent allusions to the construction of carts and chariots. (III, 53, 19; IV, 2, 14; IV, 16, 20, &c.) The use of iron, of gold, and of other metals was well known; in V, 9, 5 we have a reference to the work of an ironsmith, and in VI, 3, 4, we are told of goldsmith melting metal.

But we get a better idea of the working in metals in the Vedic times from the description of various gold ornaments and iron utensils and implements of war, which is to be found throughout the Rig-Veda. The allusions are numerous, and we can therefore only make a selection here which will convey a fair idea of the manufactures of those days. We are told of armours used in war in I, 140, 10; in II, 39, 4; in IV, 53, 2, and in various other places. In II, 34, 3, we have a reference to golden visors, and in IV, 34, 9 there is mention of armour for the shoulders or arms, probably a shield. The lightning has been compared with a javelin (*rishti*) in V, 52, 6, and in V, 54, 11; and also to a sword or battle axe (*bashi*), and to bows and arrows and quivers in V, 57, 2. Three thousand mailed warriors are spoken of in VI, 27, 6, feathered, sharp-pointed shining shafts are described in VI, 46, 11, and sharp-edged swords are spoken of in VI, 47, 10. And in verses 26 and 29 of the same hymn we are told of war chariots and trumpets, or bugles. And lastly, in the 75th hymn of the sixth Mandala, we have a spirited account of the arms and accoutrements of war which we will translate for our readers further on.

In IV, 2, 8 we have a reference to horses with golden caparisons, and in IV, 37, 4; V, 19, 3, and many other places, we have allusions to the *Nishka*,—a golden coin or ornament worn in the neck. In V, 53, 4, the lighting ornaments of the *Maruts* are compared with ornaments (*anji*), with necklaces (*srak*), with golden breastplates (*rukma*), and with bracelets and anklets (*khádi*). In V, 54, 11 we are again told of anklets for the feet, and golden breastplate for the breast, and of golden crowns (*siprah hiranmayih*) for the head.

Thus it will be seen that a very considerable advance was made in the manufacture of arms, weapons, and various kinds of ornaments. We have references also to skin-vessels (VI, 48, 18) and iron vessels (V, 30, 15), and in several places to iron-towns, which must be taken in a figurative sense as signifying strong forts (VII, 3, 7; VII, 15, 14; VII, 95, 1, &c.). We have also references to a hundred stone built towns in IV, 30, 20, and other places.

There can be no doubt that in the various rocky and mountainous tracts where the early Hindus extended their colonies, they soon learnt to utilize stone as a durable and cheap material for architecture, and there can be no difficulty in believing that in numerous Hindu towns many of the buildings and surrounding walls were of stone. That architecture was carried to a high state of perfection, appears from many allusions to mansions with thousand pillars (II, 41, 5; V, 62, 6, &c.); but at the same time it must be admitted that there is no distinct allusion in the Rig-Veda to the art of sculpture, properly so called. The researches of antiquarians have failed to discover, in any part of India, traces of sculptured stone or marble of a time previous to the Buddhistic era, and in the numerous great museums of Europe which we have visited, and which are filled with the ancient stone monuments of Egypt and Babylon, of Greece and of Rome, India is represented only by her ancient and wonderful manuscripts.

Most of the animals domesticated at the present day were domesticated in India in the remote period of the Rig-Veda. We have spirited accounts of the war horse in several places. (VI, 46, 13 and 14 &c.)

Indeed, these war horses were so highly prized by the early Aryans in their battles against the aborigines, that the horse under the name of *Dadhikrá* soon became an object of worship, and in IV, 38, we have a spirited account of the respect paid to this god-like being.

In IV, 4, we have a reference to a king riding with his ministers on an elephant. Among other domesticated animals, we have frequent mention of cows, goats, sheep, buffaloes, camels and dogs, which were used in carrying burdens.

IV.—*Wars and Dissensions.*

As has been stated before, the early Hindus wrested the fertile tracts on the banks of the Indus and its five tributaries from the primitive aborigines of the Punjab, but the aborigines did not give up their birthright without a struggle. Retreating before the more civilized organization and valour of the Hindus in the open field, they still hung round in fastnesses and forests near every Hindu settlement and village, harassed them in their

communications, waylaid and robbed them at every opportunity, stole their cattle, and often attacked them in considerable force. Well might they exclaim with the Gaels of Scotland, who had been similarly dispossessed of their fertile soil by the conquering Saxons, and had similarly retreated to barren fastnesses—

“ These fertile plains, that softened vale,
 “ Were once the birthright of the Gael ;
 “ The stranger came with iron hand,
 “ And from our fathers reft the land.
 “ Where dwell we now ? See rudely swell
 “ Crag over crag and fell o’er fell.
 * * * *

“ Pent in this fortress of the North
 “ Think’st thou we will not sally forth,
 “ To spoil the spoiler as we may,
 “ And from the robber rend his prey ?
 “ Ay, by my soul ! While on yon plain
 “ The Saxon rears one shock of grain ;
 “ While of ten thousand herd there strays
 “ But one along yon river’s maze,—
 “ The Gael of plain and river heir
 “ Shall with strong hand redeem his share.”

Unfortunately, however, they had no poet to hand down to us their view of the case, and the only account we have of this long war of centuries, is from the conquering Hindus. It is needless to say that the conquerors viewed the aborigines with the contempt and hatred which have marked the conduct of all conquering tribes, whether on the banks of the Indus seventeen hundred years before Christ, or on the banks of the Mississippi seventeen hundred years after Christ ! History repeats itself, and the Punjab was cleared of its non-Aryan aborigines just as the United States of America have, in modern times, been cleared of the many powerful and brave Indian races who lived and hunted and ruled within its primeval forests.

Of these wars with the aborigines, we have frequent allusions in the Rig-Veda, and a translation of some of these passages will give a better idea of these interminable hostilities than any account that we can give of them. The allusions are so numerous, that our only difficulty is in making a selection.

“ Indra, who is invoked by many, and is accompanied by his fleet companions, has destroyed by his thunderbolt the *Dasyus* and *Simyus* who dwelt on earth, and then he distributed the fields to his white-complexioned friends (Aryans). The graceful Indra with his thunderbolt makes the sun shine and the rain to fall.”—I, 100, 18.

“ Indra with his weapon the thunderbolt, and full of vigour, destroyed the towns of the *Dasyus*, and wandered at his will. O holder of the thunderbolt ! Be thou cognizant (of our hymns),

and cast thy weapon against the *Dasyus*, and increase the vigour and the fame of the *Aryas*. I, 103, 3.

In the very next hymn we come across a curious allusion to aboriginal robbers who dwelt on the banks of four small streams, called the Sifá, the Anjasi, the Kulisi and the Virapatni, whose courses cannot now be determined. These robbers issued from their fastnesses and harassed the civilized Aryan villages, much in the same way, we suppose, as a true descendant of those aborigines—the Bhil Tantia in our own times is harassing the peaceful villages of Central India! We translate the two verses below.

“Kuyava gets scent of the wealth of others and appropriates them. He lives in water, and pollutes it. His two wives bathe in the stream,—may they be drowned in the depths of the Sifá river!

“Ayu lives in water in a secret fastness. He flourishes amidst the rise of waters. The rivers Anjasi, Kulisi and Virapatni protect him with their waters.” I, 104, 3 & 4.

We proceed with some more extracts—

“Indra protects his *Arya* worshipper in wars. He who protects him on countless occasions, protects him in all wars. He subdues the people who do not perform sacrifices for the benefit of men (Aryans.) He flays the enemy of his black skin and kills him, and reduces him to ashes. He burns down all who do injury and all who are cruel.” I, 130, 8.

“O destroyer of foes! collect together the heads of these marauding troops, and sever them with thy wide foot. Your foot is wide.

“O Indra! destroy the power of these marauding troops. Throw them in hideous or extensive funeral places.

“O Indra! you have destroyed three times fifty such troops. People extol this thy deed, but it is nothing compared to thy prowess.

“O Indra! destroy the *Pishachis* who are reddish in appearance and utter fearful yells. Destroy all these *Rakshasas*.” * I, 133, 2 to 5.

“O Indra! the poet prays to thee for pleasant food. Thou hast made the earth the bed (burial ground) of the *Dáses*. Indra has beautified the three lands with his gifts; he has slayed *Kuyavácha* for king *Daryoni*.”

“O Indra! new Rishis still extol that ancient deed of prowess; thou hast destroyed many marauders to put an end to war. Thou hast stormed the towns of enemies who worship no gods; and thou hast bent the weapons of foes who worship no gods.”—I, 174, 7 & 8.

* *Pishachis* and *Rakshasas* may mean imaginary demons. I would rather think, however, that they refer to the aborigines.

"O Asvins! destroy those who are yelling hideously like dogs, and are coming to destroy us. Slay those who wish to fight with us. You know the way to destroy them. Let each word of those who extol you, bring wealth in return. O you truthful ones! accept our prayers." I, 182, 4.

"The radiant and far-famed and beauteous Indra is gracious to men (Aryans) the destroying and powerful Indra has cast down the heads of the *Dáses* who injure people.

"Indra who slayed Vritra, and stormed towns, has destroyed the troops of the black *Dáses*, and has made the earth and the water for Manu.* May he satisfy the wishes of the sacrificer." II, 20, 6 & 7.

We know how the Spaniard conquerors of America owed their successes to a very great extent to their horses, animals previously unknown to the American aborigines, and therefore regarded with a strange terror. It would seem that the war horses of the early Indo-Aryans inspired the aborigines of India with a similar fear. The following passages, translated from a hymn to *Dadhikrá* or the deified war-horse, will therefore be regarded with interest.

"As people shout and raise a cry after a thief who has purloined a cloth, even so the enemies yell and shout at the sight of Dadhikra! As birds make a noise at the sight of the hungry hawk on its descent, even so the enemies yell and shout at the sight of Dadhikra careering in quest of plunder of food and cattle.

"Enemies who come to fight fear Dadhikra who is radiant and destroying as a thunderbolt. When he beats back a thousand men around him, he becomes excited and uncontrollable in his strength." IV, 38, 5 & 8.

It would seem from numerous passages in the Rig-Veda that Kutsa was a powerful warrior and a mighty destroyer of the black aborigines. We are told in hymn 16 of the fourth Mandala, that Indra slayed the "*Dasyus*, who are wily and have no priests" to bestow wealth on Kutsa (verse 9); that he helped Kutsa and came to Kutsa's house with the common object of slaying the *Dasyus* (verse 10); and that he slayed fifty thousand "black-complexioned enemies" in the battle (verse 13). In IV, 28, 4, we are told that Indra has made the *Dasyus* devoid of all virtues and the object of hatred of all men; and in IV, 30, 15, we learn that Indra destroyed five hundred and a thousand *Dáses*.

We have similar allusions to the conquering and destroying

* Here, as elsewhere, Manu is spoken of as the ancestor of the Aryan man. In many places he is spoken of as the originator of cultivation and of the worship of fire which distinguished the Aryans.

of *Dasyus* or *Dases* in V, 70, 3; VI, 18, 3, and VI, 25, 2; while there is a curious reference to an unknown region inhabited by the *Dasyus* in VI, 47, 20 which deserves translation.

"O ye gods! We have travelled and lost our way and come to a region where cattle do not pasture. The extensive region gives shelter to *Dasyus* only. O Vrihaspati! Lead us in our quest of cattle. O Indra! shew the way to your worshippers who have lost their way."

We have seen that the Aryan poets are sufficiently uncomplimentary in speaking of the shouts and yells of the aboriginal barbarians. The civilized conquerors could scarcely imagine that those yells could form a language, and have, therefore, in some places, described the barbarians as without a language. (V, 29, 10, &c.)

Agni has chased the *Dasyus* from their homes (VII, 5, 6); Indra will divert the weapons of the *Dases* (VIII, 24, 27), and will help his followers to appropriate to themselves the riches of the *Dasyus* (VIII, 40, 6).

We have spoken before of Kuyava and Ayu, two aboriginal robbers, who dwelt in fastnesses surrounded by rivers, and harassed the Aryan villages. We have frequent allusions to another powerful aboriginal leader who is called Krishna, probably because of his black complexion. One of the passages relating to him deserves translation:—

"The fleet Krishna lived on the banks of the Ansumati river with ten thousand troops. Indra, of his own wisdom, became cognizant of this loud-yelling chief. He destroyed the marauding host for the benefit of men.

"Indra said—I have seen the fleet Krishna, he is wandering about in the hidden region near the Ansumati, and rules like the sun. O Maruts! I desire you to engage in fight, and to destroy him.

"The fleet Krishna lived gloriously on the banks of the Ansumati. Indra took Vrihaspati as his ally, and destroyed the fleet and godless army." VIII, 96, 13 to 15.

Not only have the aborigines been described as fond of yells and devoid of a language, but they are, in other places, considered as scarcely human. We are told in one place—

"We are surrounded on all sides by *Dasyu* tribes; they do not perform sacrifices; they do not believe in any thing; their rites are different; they are not men! O destroyer of foes! kill them. Destroy the *Dása* race." X, 22, 8.

In X, 49, Indra proclaims that he has deprived the *Dasyu* race of the name of *Arya* (verse 3); that he has destroyed Navavastva and Vrihadratha of the *Dása* race (verse 6); that he cuts the *Dases* in twain, "it is for this fate that they have been born!" (verse 7.)

Such were the aborigines with whom the early Hindus carried on an interminable war, and such was the fate to which they consigned their less civilized neighbours,—the primeval owners of the Indian soil! It is abundantly evident that no love was lost between the conquerors and the conquered. It was by ceaseless fighting that the conquerors protected themselves in their newly conquered country, gradually extended the limits of cultivation, built new villages and threw out new colonies in primeval jungles, and spread the light of civilization and the fame of the Arya prowess around. They dreaded and hated the despised barbarians with a genuine hatred, killed numbers of them when they could, thinned their ranks with their cavalry, called them yelling hounds, and men without a tongue, and brutes below the rank of men, and almost believed they were born to be slain,—“it is for fate that they have been born!” On the other hand, the stubborn barbarians had their revenge, too. Retreating before the more civilized valour of the Hindus, they hung about in every fastness and every bend of a river, they waylaid and robbed travellers, harassed villages, killed or stole the cattle, and sometimes fell on the Hindus in great numbers. With that dogged tenacity which is peculiar to barbarians, they disputed every inch of ground as they retreated; they interrupted the religious rites of the conquerors, despised their gods, and plundered their cattle and their wealth. But in spite of every resistance, the colonies of the more civilized races extended on every direction,—the area of civilization widened,—jungles and wastes were brought under cultivation and dotted with villages and royal towns, and the kingdoms of the early Hindus extended, as we have seen before, from the Punjab as far as the Ganges and the Jumna, even in Vedic times. The barbarians were either exterminated, or retreated before the ever advancing line of Aryan civilization into those hills and fastnesses, where their children still inhabit.

It can be imagined, however, that some among the weaker barbarians preferred abject subjection to extermination or exile. We find traces, accordingly, in the Rig-Veda of *Dasyus*, who at last owned the domination of the more powerful race, and who adopted their religion and their rites, and even their language. In one place we are told of some *Aryas* and *Dâses* who are alike worshippers of Indra and guard his wealth (VIII, 51, 9), and in another place the poet actually compliments two non-Aryan chiefs who had learnt to speak beautifully (!), and who with many cows made preparation for a feast of Manu (X, 62, 10). There are frequent references also to the *Dâses* who had been subjugated by Aryans. These, then, were the first *Hinduized aborigines* of India.

The foregoing extracts will shew that for many centuries together, the early Hindu settlers of India carried on a fierce war of extermination against the aboriginal tribes living in primeval forests. It must not be supposed, however, that these were the only wars which the early Hindus had to carry on. On the contrary, as Aryan colonies extended on all sides, and bands of colonists settled on the fertile banks of every new river, the Aryans themselves were cut up into different tribes and states, and, as was the case in Greece and in all other ancient countries, these states were involved in frequent hostilities among themselves. Each state was governed by its leader or king, and every able-bodied man within the state was a warrior, ready to defend the state, or march into the neighbouring state for the purposes of plunder or conquest. Disputes over a fertile field or the bend of a river, or the lust for the fat herds of a neighbouring tribe, were a fruitful cause of war in those days, as the lust of a scientific frontier, or the possession of a fortress like Metz, or commercial or "ethnological reasons" are fruitful sources of war in our modern days. Human feelings and passions have been much the same in the ancient world as in the modern world, and disguise it as we may, civilization has done precious little to quell the lust of conquest and the natural greediness of the strong to take a slice out of a weaker neighbour's portion!

We think our readers will obtain a fairly good idea of the wars among the Hindu kings of those days, if we confine our extracts to the wars and deeds of one king Sudása, who was a mighty conqueror, and subdued many neighbouring tribes under his sway.

"8. The wily foes planned destruction, and broke down the embankment of Adiná river (to cause an inundation). But Sudása filled the earth with his prowess, and the son of Chaya-mána fell like a tame animal.

"9. For the waters of the river flowed through their old channel, and did not take a new course; and Sudása's horses marched over the country. Indra subdued the hostile and talkative men and their children under Sudása.

"11. Sudása earned glory by killing twenty-one men (chiefs?) of two states. As the young priest cuts the *kusa* grass in the house of sacrifice, even so Sudása cut his enemies. The hero Indra sent the Maruts for his succour.

"12. Indra with his thunderbolt drowned Sruta and Kavasha and Vriddha and Druhya in the water. . .

"14. The six thousand six hundred and sixty-six sons of Anu and Druhya, who had desired for cattle, were laid low for Sudása prone to worship. These deeds proclaim the glory of Indra.

" 17. It was Indra who enabled the poor Sudása to achieve these deeds. Indra enabled the goat to kill the strong lion. Indra felled the sacrificial post with a needle. He bestowed all the wealth on Sudása." VII, 18.

The poet who sings these deeds of Sudása's glory is not unrewarded for his immortal verse. For in verse 22 and 23 he acknowledges with gratitude that the valiant conqueror and beneficent king had rewarded him with two hundred cows and two chariots and four horses with gold trappings!

In a subsequent hymn we are told how ten kings combined against Sudása, and Sudása was victorious over them all. A curious description of a battle in this hymn deserves translation.

" 2. Where men raise their banners and meet in battle, where nothing seems to favour us, where the messengers look up to the sky (for omens) and tremble, there, O Indra and Varuna! help us and speak to us (words of comfort).

" 3. O Indra and Varuna! the ends of the earth seem to be lost, and the noise ascends to the skies! The troops of the enemy are approaching us. O Indra and Varuna, who ever listen to prayers! Come hear us with your protection.

" 4. O Indra and Varuna! you have pierced the aim which no weapon could have reached, and have saved Sudása. You have listened to the prayers of the Tritsus, their priestly vocation bore fruit in the hour of battle.

" 5. O Indra and Varuna! the weapons of the enemy assail me on all directions, the foes assail me among marauding men. You are the owners of both kinds of wealth, save us in the day of battle.

" 6. Both parties invoke Indra and Varuna for wealth at the time of war. But in this battle you protected Sudása with the Tritsus who were attacked by ten kings.

" 7. O Indra and Varuna! the ten kings who do not perform sacrifices * were unable, though combined, to beat Sudása. . . . " VII, 83.

In VI, 47, there is an address to the trumpet or bugle of war on the eve of battle, and the poet asks that martial instrument to fill the earth and skies with its sound, to rouse movable and immovable objects, to instil fear into the enemy and to drive them away. The address ends with these portentous words—" The bugle (*Dundubhi*) sounds loud to proclaim to all men (the hour of battle). Our leaders have mounted their horses and have collected together. O Indra! let our warriors, who fight in chariots, win victory."

In a still more remarkable hymn, VI, 75 the preparations and weapons of war have been described in some detail, and a

* I believe aboriginal kings are here alluded to.

few extracts from it will convey to our readers a very good idea of military weapons in use in those days.

" 1. When the battle is nigh, and the king marches in his armour, he shines like the lightning! O king! let not thy person be pierced; be victorious, let the armour protect you.

" 2. We will win cattle with our bows, we shall be victorious with our bows; we will conquer the fierce and proud enemy with our bows. May our bows foil the desires of the enemy; we will spread our conquests on all sides with our bows.

" 3. The string of the bow (when pulled) approaches the ear of the archer, as if desirous of saving him in battle; it whispers words of consolation to him, and with a sound it clasps the arrow, even as a loving wife clasps her husband.

" 5. The quiver is like the parent of many arrows, the many arrows are like its children. It makes a sound, and hangs on the back of the warrior, and furnishes arrows in battle and conquers the enemy.

" 6. The expert charioteer rides on his chariot and leads his horses where he likes. The reins restrain the horses from behind,—sing of their glory.

" 7. The horses raise the dust with their hoofs, and career over the field with a neighing sound. They do not run away, but trample the marauding enemies under their feet.

" 11. The arrow is feathered; the deer is its teeth.* Well pulled and sent by the cow-leather-string, it falls (on the enemy.) . . .

" 14. The leather guard protects the arm from being hurt by the string, and coils round the arm like a snake. It knows its work, and is efficient and protects the warrior in every way.

" 15. We adore the arrow which is poisoned, whose head is fatal, and whose face is of iron; † it is the work of Parjanya."

VI, 75.

Before concluding our extracts under this section, we will make one more, from a hymn about the coronation of kings. It belongs, like all hymns relating to pompous ceremonies, not to the earlier but to the latest period of the Rig-Veda age.

" 1. O king, I place you in the station of a king. Be the lord of this country. Be immovable and fixed. Let all the subjects cherish thee. Let your kingdom not be destroyed.

" 2. Remain here fixed as the mountain; do not be dethroned. Remain fixed like Indra, and support the kingdom.

" 3. Indra has obtained the sacrificial offerings, and supports the newly-coronated king. Soma blesses him. Brahmanaspati blesses him.

*I do not know if this means that the arrow-heads were of deer-horn Sayana gives this as one interpretation.

† This passage shews that the arrow-heads were of iron.

"4. The sky is fixed, the earth is fixed, the mountains are fixed, this universe is fixed. He also is fixed as king among his subjects.

"5. May king Varuna make you immovable ; may the good Vrihaspati make you immovable ; may Indra and Agni support you and make you immovable.

"6. See, I mix these immortal offerings with the immortal Soma-juice ; Indra has brought your subjects under your rule, and made them willing to pay you revenue." X, 173.

These extracts are enough. We have elsewhere shewn that the warriors used not only armours but visors, and also protecting armours for the shoulders, probably shields. They used javelins and battle-axes, and sharp-edged swords, beside bows and arrows. All the weapons of wars known elsewhere in ancient time, were known in India over three thousands years ago. Trumpets or bugles assembled men in battle, banners led them on in compact masses, and the use of war-horses and chariots was well known. Tame elephants were in use, too, and we have allusions to kings riding on richly caparisoned elephants with their ministers (IV, 4, 1) ; but it does not appear that elephants were regularly used in wars in the Rig-Veda period, as they were in the third and fourth century before Christ when the Greeks came to India.

For the rest, it was a turbulent time, when the Vedic warriors lived and fought. They had not only to carry on an interminable war against the aborigines, but the Hindu States were divided among themselves, and a powerful leader was often bent on annexing his neighbour's State. Rishis engaged in sacrifices, asked for prowess to conquer the foes, or prayed to the gods for a son who would win victory in battles. Every able-bodied man was a warrior, and was ever prepared to defend his home and his fields and his cattle with his strong right arm. Each Hindu colony or tribe, while attentive to the worship of the gods, and to the cultivation of the various arts of peace, was at the same time alive to the fact that its national existence depended on a constant preparedness for war. And the great conglomeration of Hindu tribes which spread from the banks of the Indus to the banks of the Ganges, consisted of hardy, brave and warlike peoples, who maintained their footing in the land, and their independence and national existence by constant struggles, and a determination to win or to die.

It is sad to contemplate this state of things. But where is the country in which, in ancient times, tribes and nations had not to maintain a ceaseless war for their aggrandizement, or even for their very existence? And even in modern times, during the fourteen hundred years which have followed the

downfall of Rome, where shall we seek for the tribe or nation which could hope to reap the results of its peaceful industry, without a constant struggle against its neighbours. If a generation has passed in Europe without a dreadful war, that period is marked in history as a period of exceptional bliss. And even in our own times, with the exception of a few countries advantageously situated, all the nations of Europe are armed to the teeth; all the individuals, by millions, of great kingdoms and empires are eternally prepared for war, ready on a week's notice to leave their homes and occupations and march to the frontier! Civilization has done much for the cause of humanity; but civilization has not yet converted the sword into the scythe, or enabled man to reap the results of his peaceful industry without a struggle to the death against his neighbour.

V.—Social and Domestic Life. The position of Women.

From an account of the wars and dissensions of the early Hindus, we turn to the more interesting and pleasing subject of their social and domestic rules and to their home life. The first thing that strikes us here, is the absence of those unhealthy rules and restrictions, those marked distinctions between man and man, and between class and class which form the most unpleasant feature of later Hindu society. We have already seen that the sturdy Hindus of the Vedic times recognized no restrictions against the use of beef, and that they refer with pride to their merchants going to the sea. We have seen, too, that the Rishis did not form a separate and exclusive class, and did not pass their lives away from the world in penances and contemplation. On the contrary, the Rishis were practical men of the world who owned large herds of cattle, cultivated their fields, fought against the aboriginal enemies in times of war, and prayed to their gods for wealth and cattle, for victory in wars, and for blessings on their wives and children. Every father of a family was, in fact, a Rishi in a small scale, and worshipped his gods in his own house in his own humble fashion, and the women of the family joined in the worship and helped in the performance of the ceremonies. Some among the community were, of course, prëminent in the composition of hymns and in the performance of great sacrifices, and kings and rich men sent for them on great occasions and rewarded them handsomely. But even these great composers, these real Rishis of the Rig-Veda did not form an exclusive caste of their own; they were worldly men, mixed and married with the people, shared property with the people, fought the wars of the people, and were of the people.

One martial Rishi for instance (in V, 23, 2) prays for a son who will conquer the enemies in war. Another (in VI, 20, 1) prays for wealth and corn-fields, and a son who will destroy his foes. Another (in IX, 69, 8) prays for wealth and gold, for horses and cows, for profuse harvests and a large progeny. Another Rishi with naïve simplicity says, that his cattle are his wealth and his Indra! (VI, 28, 5.) Throughout the Rig-Veda the Rishis are the people; there is not the shadow of any evidence that the Rishis, or priests, were a "caste" of their own, different from the fighters or the cultivators.*

This will be considered by impartial judges to be very good evidence that the caste system did not exist. It proves a negative much more convincingly than many positive facts can be proved. In a vast collection of hymns composed probably during eight hundred years and more, and replete with references to the habits and manners and customs of the people, replete with allusions to agriculture and pasture, to arts and manufacture, to wars among rival kings and wars against aborigines, to marriage and domestic rules and the duties and position of women, to religious observances and the elementary astronomy as then known,—we have not one single passage to shew that the community was cut up into separate "*castes*." Is it possible to suppose that that wonderful system existed, and yet there is no allusion to that fundamental principle of society in the ten thousand hymns of the Rig Veda? Is it possible to find a single religious work of later times, of one-twentieth the dimensions of the Rig-Veda, which is silent on that system?

So far, then, we have proved a negative in the only way in which a negative can be proved. But curiously enough there is positive proof in various passages in the Rig-Veda that the "caste" system did not exist. The very word "*varna*" which in later Sanscrit indicates caste, is used in the Rig-Veda to distinguish the Aryans and non-Aryans, and nowhere indicates separate sections in the Aryan community. (III, 34, 9, &c.) The very word *Kshatriya* which, in later Sanscrit, means the military caste, is used in the Veda simply as an

* The solitary mention of the four castes in X, 90, 12 will not be considered an exception, or weaken our argument. The hymn itself was composed centuries after the time when the Rig-Veda hymns were generally composed, as is proved by its language and its ideas. It was composed after the *Rik*, and the *Sam* and the *Yajur Vedas* had been separately classified (verse 9), and after the idea of the sacrifice the Supreme Being (unknown elsewhere in the Rig-Veda) had found a place in the Hindu religion. The incorporation of this later hymn in the Rig-Veda was, no doubt, a very clever trick, but it does not shew the existence of the caste system in the Vedic times.

adjective which means strong, and is applied to gods! (VII, 64, 2; VII, 89, 1, &c.) The very word *vipra* which, in later Sanscrit, means the priestly caste, is used in the Rig-Veda merely as an adjective which means wise, and which is applied to gods. (VIII, 11, 6, &c.) And the very word *Bráhmaṇa* which, in later Sanscrit, means also the priestly caste, is used in a hundred places in the Rig-Veda to imply the composers of hymns and nothing else. (VII, 103, 8, &c.)

We would gladly multiply evidences but that our limits forbid. But we cannot help producing just one evidence more. With that charming simplicity which is the characteristic beauty of the Rig-Veda—one Rishi says pathetically of himself—

“See, I am a composer of hymns, my son is a physician, my daughter fries grain on a stone. We are all engaged in different occupations. As cows wander (in various directions) in the pasture field (for food) so we (in various occupations) worship thee, O Soma! for wealth, Flow thou for Indra.” (IX 112, 3). Those who suppose that the caste system existed in the Vedic times, will have a hard nut to crack in explaining a hundred passages like the above, to be found in the Rig-Veda!

Later asserters of the caste system have sometimes tried to crack these nuts and with the most wonderful results! Like most other Rishis of the Rig-Veda (who, we have seen before, constantly prayed for warlike sons) Visvámitra was a warrior and a Rishi. Later Hindus were shocked at this, and invented a beautiful Pauranic myth to explain how Visvámitra was first a *Kshatriya* and then became a *Brahmana*! Needless endeavour, for Visvámitra was neither a *Kshatriya* nor a *Brahmana*: he was a Vedic Rishi and warrior long before the *Brahmanas* and the *Kshatriyas*, as such, were known! *

As we have seen then, every father of a family was his own priest, and his home was his temple. There is no mention of idols in the Rig-Veda, none of the temples or places of worship where the people were to congregate. The sacred fire was lighted in the house of every householder, and he chanted the beautiful and simple hymns which were the national property. We

* It gives us much pleasure to be able to cite here the authority of two scholars who have devoted their lifetime to the study of the Vedas.

“If then, with all the documents before us, we ask the question, does caste, as we find it in Manu, and at the present day, form part of the most ancient religious teaching of the Vedas? We can answer with a decided No.”—Max Müller’s *Chips from a German workshop*, Vol. II (1867), p. 307.

“There are no castes as yet, the people is still one united whole, and bears but one name, that of *Visas*.”—Weber’s *Indian Literature* (translation), p. 38.

have a pleasing picture of women who assisted at these sacrifices, who ordered the necessary things, prepared them with the pestle and the mortar, extracted the Soma-juice and stirred it with their graceful fingers and strained it through a woollen strainer. In numerous places we find mention of wives joining their husbands and performing the sacrifice together. They offer the oblations together, and hope thereby to go to heaven together (I, 131, 3 ; V, 43, 15, &c). A few verses from a grateful hymn on this subject will no doubt interest our readers.

"5. O ye gods ! The married couple who prepare oblations together, who purify the Soma-juice and mix it with mixtures.

"6. They obtain food for their eating, and come united to the sacrifice ; they have not to go elsewhere in quest of food.

"7. They do make vain promises of offerings to the gods, nor keep back your favours ; they worship you with the best offerings.

"8. They obtain sons and children, they acquire gold, and they both attain to a mature age.

"9. The gods themselves covet the worship of such a couple who are fond of sacrifices, and offer grateful food to the gods. They embrace each other to continue their race, and they worship their gods." VIII, 31.

Still more grateful to us is the picture of cultured ladies who were themselves Rishis, and composed hymns and performed sacrifices like men. For there were no unhealthy restrictions against women in those days, no attempt to keep them secluded or uneducated, or debarred from their legitimate place in society. There is mention of veiled wives and brides, but no allusion to women being kept in seclusion. On the contrary we meet them everywhere in their legitimate spheres of action, taking a share in sacrifices, and exercising their influence on society. We cherish the picture of the cultured lady Visvavará which has been handed down to us through thousands of years,—a pious lady who composed hymns, performed sacrifices, and with simple fervency invoked the god Agni to regulate and keep, within virtuous bounds, the mutual relations of married couples. (V, 28, 3.) We meet with the names of other ladies also who were Rishis of the Rig-Veda.

In a society so simple as that of the Vedic times, the relations of life were determined by the needs and requirements of individuals rather than by religious sanction as in later days, and there was no religious obligation, therefore, that every girl must be married. On the contrary we find allusions to unmarried women who remained in the homes of their fathers, and naturally claimed and obtained a share of the paternal property. (II, 17, 7.) On the other hand, we have frequent references to careful and industrious wives who superintended

the arrangements of the house, and like the dawn roused and sent every one in the house to his work in the morning (I, 124, 4) and who possessed those domestic virtues for which Hindu wives have always been noted from the earliest to the present times. Occasionally we have allusions to women who went astray (II, 29, 1 ;) of maidens who had no brothers to watch over their morals, and of wives who were faithless to their husbands (IV, 5, 5 ; X, 34, 4). And we are told of the wife of a ruined gambler who becomes the object of other men's lust (X, 34, 4).

It would seem that girls had some voice in the selection of their husbands. Their selection was not always happy, for "many women are attracted by wealth, and become attached to men who are fond of women. But the woman who is of gentle nature and of graceful form selects, among many, her own loved one as her husband." (X, 27, 12). We can almost imagine we see the *Svayambara* system of later times foreshadowed in the above verse. There can be no doubt, however, that fathers always exercised a wise control in the selection of husbands for their daughters, and, as at the present day, fathers give away their girls gracefully adorned and decked with golden ornaments (IX, 462 ; X, 39, 14).

The ceremony of marriage was an appropriate one, and the promises which the bridegroom and bride made to each other were suitable to the occasion. We will translate some verses from a hymn in the later portion of the Rig-Veda, in which we find a pleasing picture of the ceremony. The first two verses, among the following verses, will shew that the unnatural custom of early marriages was unknown, and that girls were married after they had attained their youth.

"21. O Visvávasu ! (god of marriage,) arise from this place, for the marriage of this girl is over. We extol Visvávasu with hymns and bending in adoration. Go to some other maiden who is still in her father's house and has attained the signs of the age of marriage. She will be your share, know of her.

"22. O Visvávasu ! arise from this place. We worship thee, bending in adoration. Go to an unmarried maiden whose person is well developed, make her a wife and unite her to a husband.

"23. Let the paths by which our friends go in quest of a maiden for marriage, be easy and free of thorns. May Aryaman and Bhaga lead us well. O gods ! may the husband and wife be well united.

"24. O maiden ! the graceful sun had fastened thee with ties (of maidenhood,) we release thee now of those ties. We place thee with thy husband in a place which is the home of truth and the abode of righteous actions.

"25. We release this maiden from this place (her father's house), but not from the other place (her husband's house). We unite her well with the other place. O Indra! may she be fortunate and the mother of worthy sons.

"26. May Pushan lead you by the hand from this place. May the two Asvins lead you in a chariot. Go to your (husband's) house and be the mistress of the house. Be the mistress of all, and exercise your authority over all in that house.

"27. Let children be born unto thee, and blessings attend thee here. Perform the duties of thy household with care. Unite thy person with the person of this thy husband; exercise thy authority in this thy house until old age.

"40. First Soma accepts thee; then Gandharva accepts thee; Agni is thy third lord; the son of man is the fourth to accept thee.*

"41. Soma bestowed this maiden to Gandharva, Gandharva gave her to Agni, Agni has given her to me with wealth and progeny.

"42. O bridegroom and bride! do ye remain here together; do not be separated. Enjoy food of various kinds; remain in your own home, and enjoy happiness in company of your children and grandchildren.

"43. (The bride and bridegroom say).—May Prajapati bestow on us children; may Aryaman keep us united till old age. (Address to the bride): O bride! remain with auspicious signs in the home of thy husband. Do good to our male servants and our female servants, and to our cattle.

"44. Be thy eyes free from sin; minister to the happiness of thy husband; do good to our cattle. May thy mind be cheerful; may thy beauty be bright. Be the mother of heroic sons, and be devoted to the gods. Do good to our male servants and our female servants and to our cattle.

"45. O Indra! make this woman fortunate and the mother of worthy sons. Let ten sons be born of her womb, so that there may be eleven men (in the family) with the husband.

"46. (Address to the bride): May thou have influence over thy father-in-law and over thy mother-in-law, and be as a queen over thy sister-in-law and brother-in-law.

"47. (The bridegroom and bride say):—May all the gods unite our hearts; may Vayu and Dhatri and the goddess of speech unite us together." X, 85.

Our extract has been somewhat lengthy, but our readers will not regret it. The extract shews at once the appropriate nature of the ceremony that was performed, and the position

* This, and the following verse would shew, that the bride was offered to the three gods before she was united to the bridegroom.

which the young bride occupied in the home and the affections of her lord.

Polygamy was allowed among the kings and the rich people in Vedic times, as it was allowed in olden times in all countries and among all nations. Domestic dissensions were the natural result in such instances, and we have hymns in the latter part of the Rig-Veda, in which wives curse their fellow-wives (X, 145 ; X, 159.) The evil seems, however, to have grown in the latter part of the Vedic age, for there are scarcely any allusions to it in the earlier hymns.

We need scarcely allude to hymns suited to the occasions of conception and child-birth (X, 183 ; X, 184 ; X, 162 ; v, 78, 7 to 9). These hymns were all the product of the last portion of the Vedic age, when superstition and priestly influence were gaining on the people, and ceremonies multiplied. We must allude, however, to two curious verses which seem to lay down the law of inheritance, and is, therefore, of peculiar interest. We give a translation below—

“1. The father who had no son, honors his son-in-law, capable of begetting sons, and goes (*i. e.*, leaves his property) to the son of his daughter. The (son-less) father trusts in his daughter's offspring, and lives content.

“2. A son does not give any of his father's property to a daughter. He gives her away to be the wife of a husband. If a father and mother beget both son and daughter, then one (*i. e.*, son) engages himself in the acts and duties of his father, while the other (daughter) receives honor.” III, 31.

This is the first germ of the Hindu law of inheritance which makes the son, and not the daughter, the inheritor of his father's property and religious duties, and which allows the property to go to the daughter's son only in the absence of male issue. We think we discover the first germs of the Hindu law of adoption too, in such passages as the following:—

“As a man who is not indebted gets much wealth, so we, too, shall get the treasure that endures (*i. e.*, a son). O Agni! let us not have a son begotten of another. Do not follow the ways of the ignorant.

“A son begotten of another may yield us happiness, but can never be supposed or accepted as one's own. And, besides, he ultimately goes back to his own place. Therefore, may a son be newly born unto us who will bring us food and destroy our foes.” VII, 4, 7 and 8.

As we have spoken in this section of marriage and inheritance, it is necessary to complete our account of social and domestic customs to speak of the funeral ceremony also. Yama, in the Rig-Veda, is not the god of hell, but the god of

the heaven of the righteous,—the god who rewards the virtuous man after his death in a happy land. His two dogs, however, are objects to be avoided, or propitiated. The following verses are taken from a hymn composed, it is needless to say, not in the earlier but in the latest period of the Rig-Veda age when ceremonies multiplied.

“7. O thou deceased! proceed to the same place where our forefathers have gone,—by the same path which they followed. The two kings Yama and Varuna are pleased with the offerings; go and see them.

“8. Go to that happy heaven and mix with the early forefathers. Mix with Yama and with the fruits of thy virtuous deeds. Leave sin behind, enter thy home.

“9. O ye ghosts! leave this place, go away, move away. For the forefathers have prepared a place for the deceased. That place is beautified with day, with sparkling waters and with light; Yama assigns this place to the dead.

“10. O thou deceased! these two dogs have four eyes each, and a strange colour. Go past them quickly. Then proceed by the beautiful path to those wise forefathers, who spend their time in joy and happiness with Yama.” X, 14.

The above passages give us an idea of the belief in future happiness as it was developed in the latest period of the Vedic era.

That cremation was practiced in the Vedic times, as it is now by Hindus, will be shewn by the following extract:

“O fire! do not reduce this deceased into ashes; do not give him pain. Do not mangle his skin or his person. O fire, send him to the home of our fathers as soon as his body is burnt in thy heat.” X, 16, 1.

There are some passages, however, which would seem to indicate that burial, with or without cremation, was also practiced.

“10. O thou deceased, go to the extended earth who is as a mother; she is extensive and beautiful. Her touch be soft as that of wool or of a young wife. You have performed sacrifices, let her save thee from sin.

“11. O earth! hold up deceased, do not give him pain. Give him good things, give him consolation. As a mother covers her child with the hem of her cloth, so cover the deceased.

“12. Let the earth be raised on him as a mound and settle on him. Let a thousand particles of dust rest on him. Let them be to him as a house filled with butter, let them form a shelter to him.” X, 18.

It remains only to allude to one remarkable verse in this very hymn of which we will give Dr. Rajendra Lala's translation.

"Rise up, woman, thou art lying by one whose life is gone; come, come to the world of the living, away from thy husband, and become the wife of him who grasps thy hand, and is willing to marry thee." X, 18, 8.

This translation is based on Sayana's rendering of the passage in the *Taittiriya Aranyaka*, and there can be no doubt as to its correctness, because the word *Didhishu* used in the passage has only one meaning in the Sanskrit language, *viz.*, the second husband of a woman. We entirely agree, also, in the following remarks with which Dr. Rajendra Lala winds up a paper on Funeral Ceremony in Ancient India. "That the remarriage of widows in Vedic times was a national custom, can be established by a variety of proofs and arguments; the very fact of the Sanskrit language having, from ancient times, such words as *Didhishu*, 'a man that has married a widow,' *Parapurvā*, 'a woman that has taken a second husband,' *Paunarbhava*, 'a son of a woman by her second husband,' are enough to establish it."

It is with pain and regret that we will, in conclusion, refer to another passage also belonging to this hymn, and which is perfectly harmless in the Rig-Veda itself, but which was altered and mistranslated in later times, to sanction the custom of *suttee*, or the burning of the widow on the pyre of her husband. That most diabolical of all human institutions finds no sanction in the Rig-Veda. There is a perfectly harmless passage (X, 18, 7) which refers to a procession of females at a funeral ceremony. The passage may be thus translated:

"May these women not suffer the pangs of widowhood. May they obtain husbands according to their desire, and enter their houses with collyrium and butter. Let these women, without shedding tears, and without any illness, enter the house in front, wearing valuable ornaments."

There is not a word in the above relating to the burning of widows. But a word in it *Agre* was altered into *Agne*, and the text was then mistranslated and misapplied in Bengal, to justify the detestible custom of widow-burning. In the words of Professor Max Müller—"this is, perhaps, the most flagrant instance of what can be done by an unscrupulous priesthood. Here have thousands and thousands of lives been sacrificed, and a fanatical rebellion been threatened on the authority of a passage which was mangled, mistranslated and misapplied." *Selected Essays* (1881), Vol. I, p. 335. The censure is strong, but is deserved; it does not matter whether the alteration in the text and the mistranslation were made in recent times or some hundreds of years ago. We decline to believe that the misinterpretation could have arisen from an error.

VI.—*Religion.*

An account of the social life and the civilization of the early Hindus will not be complete without some account of their religion. The religion of the Rig-Veda is well known. It is pre-eminently the worship of Nature in its most imposing and sublime aspects. The sky which bends over all, the beautiful and blushing dawn which, like a busy housewife, wakes men from slumber and sends them to their work, the gorgeous tropical sun which vivifies the earth, the air which pervades the world, the fire which cheers and enlightens us, and the violent storms which in India strike terror into the boldest, but usher in those copious rains which fill the land with plenty,—these were the gods whom the early Hindus loved to extol and to worship. And often when an ancient Rishi sang the praises of any of the gods with devotion and fervour, he forgot that there was any other god besides, and his sublime hymn has the character and the sublimity of a prayer to the one God of the Universe. This is what makes European scholars often pause and hesitate before they give the Vedic religion any other name than Monotheism. Indeed, the Rishis themselves often rose higher than the level of their primitive Nature-worship, and boldly declared that the different gods were but the different manifestations or the different names of the One Primal Cause. Towards the end of the Rig-Veda we often come across hymns sung to the One True God. The landmarks between Nature-worship and Monotheism have been passed, and the great Rishis of the Rig-Veda have passed from Nature up to Nature's God.

This is the characteristic beauty of the Rig-Veda as compared with the other religious works in the world; we do not find in the Veda any well defined system of religion or any one and particular stage of thought or civilization. On the contrary we watch with interest how the human mind *travels*, travels from an almost childlike but sincere invocation of the rising sun or the beneficent sky, to the sublimer idea that neither the sun nor the sky is a deity,—that the deity is greater and higher than these, and has created these objects. We know of no other work in any language which possesses such interest for the philosophic enquirer into the progress of the human mind, or which shews, as the Rig-Veda does show, how human intelligence travels step by step, higher and higher, until from the created objects it grasps the sublime idea of the Creator.

The sky was naturally the most prominent object of worship, and as the sky assumes various aspects, various names were given to it, and the conception of various deities was formed. The oldest probably is *Dyu* (literally the shining), the Zeus of the Greeks, the first syllable of Jupiter among the Romans,

the Tiu of the Saxons, and the Zio of the Germans. This common name among many Aryan races indicates that the deity was worshipped by the ancestors of all these nations in their first primeval common abode in Asia.

But while Zeus and Jupiter maintained their supremacy among the gods in Greece and in Rome, in India he soon lost his place, and the sky *in one of its peculiar functions* soon usurped his place. For in India the annual rise of rivers, the fertility of land, and the luxuriance of crops,—all that tends to the happiness of man,—depends not on the sky which shines above us, but on the *sky that rains*, and *Indra*, which means the rain-giver, soon became the first among the Vedic gods.

Another ancient name of the sky was *Varuna*, the Uranus of the Greeks. The word signifies to cover, and Varuna was the sky which covered the earth, probably the sky without light, the nightly sky. For we find another name for the bright sky of day, *viz.*, *Mitra*, the *Mithra* of the Zend-avesta. Sanscrit commentators naturally explain Varuna as the night and Mitra as day, and the Iranians worshipped the sun under the name of Mithra, and gave the name of Varuna to a happy region if not the sky.

These facts show that the idea and name of Varuna as a god of sky was known to the ancestors of Aryan nations before those nations separated and migrated to Greece, to Persia, and to India. Indeed the eminent German scholar Dr. Roth and many others are of opinion that before the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians separated, Varuna was the highest and holiest of the gods of their common ancestors, and represented the spiritual side of their religion. After the separation took place, this deity of righteousness was, it is alleged, translated in Iran into Ahura Mazd, the Supreme Deity; and although in India, Varuna yielded the foremost place among gods to the young and vigorous rain-giver Indra, still he never became divested of that sanctity and holiness which entered into his first conception, and the holiest hymns of the Rig-Veda are his, not Indra's. Whatever be the value of these opinions, the fact of Varuna's pre-eminent sanctity in the Rig-Veda cannot be denied, and we will give a few short translations from hymns to Varuna to illustrate this:—

“O Varuna! the birds that fly have not attained thy speed, thy power, or thy vigour; the water which flows ceaselessly and the moving wind do not excel thy speed.

“King Varuna of unsullied power remains in the firmament, and holds on high the rays of light. Those rays descend downwards, but proceed from above; O! that we may be spared in life.

“King Varuna has spread out the path for the course of the

sun. He has made the path for the sun to tread on the firmament where there is no footing. May he rebuke our enemies who pierce our hearts.

"O King Varuna! a hundred and a thousand medicinal drugs are thine; may thy beneficence be vast and deep. Keep unrighteousness away from us, deliver us from the sins we have committed.

"Yonder stars* which are placed on high, and are seen by night,—where do they go by day? The acts of Varuna are irresistible,—the moon shines brightly by his mandate." I, 24, 6 to 10.

"O Varuna! with an anxious heart I ask thee about my sins. I have gone to learned men with various questions, the sages have all said to me:—'Varuna is angry with thee.'

"O Varuna! what have I done that thou wishest to destroy thy friend, thy worshipper? O thou of irresistible power! explain that to me, so that I may quickly bend in adoration, and come unto thee.

"O Varuna! deliver us from the sins of our fathers. Deliver us from the sins committed in our persons. O King! deliver us from sin, even as a thief who has eaten stolen meat is released, even as a calf fastened by a rope is released.

"O Varuna! all this sin is not (wilfully) committed by us. Error or wine, anger or dice, or even thoughtlessness has begotten sin. Even an elder brother leads his younger astray,—sin is begotten even in our dreams.

"Freed from sin, I will faithfully serve as a slave that Varuna who fulfills our wishes and supports us. We are ignorant, may the Arya god bestow on us knowledge. May the wise deity accept our prayer and bestow on us wealth." VII, 86, 3 to 7.

O King Varuna! let me not go to the earthen home. O thou of great power! Have mercy, have mercy.

"O Varuna with thy weapons! I come with a trembling person, even like a cloud driven by the wind. O thou of great power! Have mercy, have mercy.

"O rich and pure Varuna! I have been driven against

* The word used with text is Riksha, which may either mean stars generally, or the stars of the constellation Great Bear. The root *rich* means to shine, whence in course of time the word Riksha came to have two meanings,—the shining stars of a particular constellation, and an animal with bright eyes and shining glossy hair. By a natural confusion of ideas, therefore, the constellation itself ultimately came to be called the Bear. The question is discussed with remarkable eloquence and learning by Max Müller in his Science of Language, and he explains that "the surprise with which many a thoughtful observer has looked at these seven bright stars, wondering why they were ever called the Bear, is removed by a reference to the early annals of human speech."

righteous acts through weakness. O thou of great power! have mercy, have mercy.

"Your worshippers have thirsted even when living in water. O thou of great power! have mercy, have mercy.

"O Varuna! we are (erring) mortals. In whatever way we have sinned against gods, in whatever manner we have through ignorance neglected thy work,—O! do not destroy us for these sins." VII, 89, 1 to 5.

These and many other hymns shew that Varuna was never divested in India of that idea of holiness which is said to have entered into his original conception. But nevertheless, Varuna, like Dyu, was supplanted in power by the younger Indra, a god who, as we have said, is peculiarly Indian, and is unknown to other Aryan nations.

One of the most famous legends about Indra, the most famous legend probably in the Aryan world—is about the production of rain. The dark heavy clouds to which man looks up with wistful eyes, but which often disappoint him in seasons of drought, are called by the ancient name of *Vritra*. *Vritra* is supposed to confine the waters and will not let them descend until the sky-god or rain-god Indra strikes the monster with his thunderbolt. The captive waters then descend in copious showers, rivers rise almost instantaneously, and gods and men rejoice over the changed face of nature. Many are the spirited hymns in the Rig-Veda in which this combat is narrated with much glee and rejoicing. The storm-gods, *Maruts*, help Indra in the combat, the sky and earth tremble at the noise, *Vritra* long wages an unequal combat, and then falls and dies,—the drought is over, and rains begin.

We have said that *Indra* is a peculiarly Indian name, and is unknown to other Aryan nations. But the legend given above and the name of *Vritra* appear in various shapes among various Aryan nations. *Vritraghna*, or the slayer of *Vritra*, is worshipped in the Zendavesta as *Verethraghna*, and we also find in the same work an account of the destruction of *Ahi* which in the Veda is another name for *Vritra*. *Threyetana* is the slayer of *Ahi*,—and the genius of the great French scholar Burnouf has recognized this identical *Threyetana* in the *Ferudin* of *Ferdusi's Shah Nama*,—translated from mythology to history after thousands of years! It will probably surprise modern readers more to know that scholars have traced this *Ahi* of the Veda and the Zendavesta in the dragon *Echis* and *Echidna* of Greek mythology, that in the dog *Orthros* the offspring of *Echidna*, they have recognised our old friend *Vritra* or the rain-cloud, and *Hercules* therefore, the slayer of *Orthros*, is the counterpart of *Threyetana* of *Zendavasta* and of *Indra* of the *Rig-Veda*!

It would be easy to multiply such legends, but our limits forbid such a course, and we will therefore only briefly make a passing mention of one more legend, *viz.*, that about the recovery of light by Indra after the darkness of night. The rays of light are compared to cattle which have been stolen away by the powers of darkness, and Indra (the sky) seeks for them in vain. He sends *Saramá*, i. e., the dawn, after them, and *Saramá* finds out the *Bilu*, or fortress, where the *Panis* or powers of darkness have concealed the cattle. *Pani* tries to tempt *Saramá* but in vain. *Saramá* comes back to Indra, and Indra marches with his forces, destroys the fort and recovers the cattle;—darkness is gone, and it is day! This is a well known Vedic legend, and there are constant allusions to it in the hymns to Indra.

Professor Max Müller has scarcely succeeded in persuading European thinkers to believe that the story of the siege of Troy is a development of this simple Vedic myth, and is "but a repetition of the daily siege of the East by the solar powers that every evening are robbed of their brightest treasures in the West." Ilium, according to the Professor, is *Bilu*, the cave or the fortress of the Rig-Veda. Paris is the *Panis* of the Veda who tempt, and Helena is the Vedic *Saramá* who resists the temptation in the Veda, but succumbs to it in Greek mythology.

We will now make short extracts from the Rig-Veda, illustrating these two legends:—

"We sing the heroic deeds which were performed by Indra with his thunderbolt. He destroyed Ahi (clouds,) and caused rains to descend, and opened out the paths for the mountain streams to roll.

"Indra slayed Ahi (clouds) resting on the mountains, Twashtri had made the far-reaching thunderbolt for him. Water in torrents flowed towards the sea, as cows run eagerly towards their calves.

"Indra quaffed the Soma-juice like a bull, he drank the Soma libations offered in the three sacrifices. He then took the thunderbolt, and thereby slayed the eldest of the Ahis.

"When you killed the eldest of the Ahis, you destroyed the contrivances of the artful contrivers. You cleared the sun and the morning and the sky, and left no enemies (clouds) behind.

"Indra with his all-destructive thunderbolt slayed the Vritra (cloud) which had shrouded the earth, and lopped his limbs. Ahi now lies touching the earth like the arm of a tree lopped off by the axe.

"The proud Vritra thought that he had no equal, and defied the destroyer and conqueror Indra to combat. But he did not

escape destruction, and Indra's foe fell,—crushing the rivers in his fall.

"Glad waters are bounding over the (prostrate body) as rivers flow over fallen banks. Vritra when alive had withheld the water by his power, Ahi now lies prostrate under that water.

"The prostrate body lies concealed and nameless under ceaseless and restless waters, and the waters flow above. Indra's foe sleeps the long sleep." I, 32, 1 to 6, & 8 & 10.

The above is one of the hymns relating to the legend of Vritra. We now turn to a hymn relating to the legend of Saramá.

The Panis say : "O, Saramá ! why hast thou come here ? It is a long distance. He who looks back cannot come this way. What have we with us for which thou hast come ? How many nights hast thou travelled ? How didst thou cross the river ?

Saramá replies : "I come as the messenger of Indra. O Panis ! it is my object to recover the abundant cattle which you have collected. The water has protected me, the water felt a fear at my crossing, and thus I crossed the river.

The Panis : "What is that Indra like, whose messenger thou art, and hast come from a long distance. How does he look ? Let him come, we will own him as a friend. Let him take and own our cows.

Saramá : "I do not see any one who can conquer the Indra whose messenger I am, and have come from a long distance. It is he who conquers every body. The deep rivers cannot restrain his course. O Panis ! you will surely be slain by Indra and will lie down.

Panis : "O beautiful Saramá ! thou hast come from the farthest ends of the sky, we will give thee without any dispute such of these cows as thou desirest. Who else would have given thee cattle without a dispute. We have many sharp weapons with us.

* * * * *

Panis : "O Saramá ! thou hast come here because the gods threatened thee and sent thee here. We will accept thee as a sister,—do not return. O beautiful Saramá ! we will give thee a share of this cattle.

Saramá : "I do not comprehend your words about brothers and sister. Indra and the powerful sons of Angiras know all. They have sent me here to guard the cattle until recovery. I have come here under their shelter. O Panis ! run away far, far from here." X, 108, 1 to 5, 9 & 10.

It will be seen from the few extracts we have made that the hymns to Indra are characterized by force and vigour, as those to Varuna are marked with a feeling of righteousness. Indra is in fact the most vigorous of the Vedic gods, fond of soma

wine, delighting in war, leading his comrades, the *Maruts*, to fight against drought, leading hosts of Aryans against the black aborigines, and helping them to carve out for themselves, with their strong right arms, the most fertile spots along the five rivers of the Punjab. The sky and earth gave him birth as a cudgel for the enemies (III, 49, 1.). The young and vigorous infant went to his mother Aditi for food, and saw soma wine on her breast;—he drank soma before he drank from his mother's breast (III, 48, 2 & 3). And the great drinker and fighter often hesitates between the temptation of soma libations at sacrifices, and the temptation of his home where a beautiful wife awaits him). III, 53, 4 to 6.)

We have so long spoken of Dyu and Varuna and Mitra and Indra as the principal sky-gods of the Rig-Veda. All these gods may however also be considered as gods of light, as the idea of the bright light of sky enters into the conception of all these deities, even of Varuna in some passages. We will now however speak of some deities who have more distinctly a solar character, and some of whom are grouped together under the common name of Adityas or sons of *Aditi*. And this brings us to the most remarkable name, perhaps, that occurs in the Rig-Veda mythology. Unlike Indra, which comes from *Ind* to rain, and Dyu which comes from *Dyu* to shine, the word Aditi involves a more complicated idea. Aditi means the undivided, the unlimited, the eternal. It is in reality, as Professor Max Müller says, the earliest name invented by man to express the Infinite,—the visible infinite, the endless expanse, beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky. The fact that such an idea should enter into the conception of a deity, argues a remarkable advance in the culture and thought of the early Hindus. The word has no counterpart among the names of the deities of other ancient Aryan nations, and must have been coined in India after the Indo-Aryan section had settled in this country. It means, according to the eminent German scholar Dr. Roth, the eternal and inviolable principle,—the celestial light.

There is much confusion in the Rig-Veda as to who are the Adityas,—the sons of this celestial light. In II, 27 Aryaman and Bhaga and Daksha and Ansa are named beside Varuna and Mitra of whom we have spoken before. In IX, 114 and in X, 72, the Adityas are said to be seven in number, but are not named. We have seen before, that Indra is called a son of Aditi. Savitri, the sun, is often described as an Aditya, and so are Pushan and Vishnu, who are also different names of the sun. We will therefore leave alone the word Aditya, and make a few remarks on the different names by which the sun, in its different aspects, was worshipped.

Surya and Savitri are the most common names of the sun in the Rig-Veda,—the former word answering to the Greek Helios, the Latin Sol the Tuton Tyr, and the Iranian Khorshed. Commentators draw a distinction between Savitri, the rising or the unrisen sun, and Surya the bright sun of day. The golden rays of the sun were naturally compared with arms, until a story found its place in the Hindu mythology that Savitri lost his arm at a sacrifice, and it was replaced by a golden arm. The same story re-appears in a different form in German mythology, in which the sun-god Tyr placed his hand in the mouth of a tiger and lost it!

The only extract we will make from the hymns to the sun will be that most celebrated of all the verses in the Rig-Veda, the Gáyatri, or the morning hymn of the later Brahmans. But the Rig-Veda recognized no Brahmans, the caste system was not formed then, and the sublime hymn was the *national* property of the early Hindus, who dwelt on the banks of the Indus. We give the late H. H. Wilson's translation.

"We meditate on the desirable light of the divine Savitri, who influences our pious rites."

Pushan is the sun as viewed by shepherds in their wanderings in quest of fresh pasture lands. The hymns to Pushan therefore often breathe a simplicity which is truly pastoral. Pushan is requested to lead by safe paths to new pasture fields, and to save the travellers from enemies. A few extracts from such hymns have been given before.

Vishnu has obtained such a prominent place as the Supreme Deity in later Hinduism, that there is a natural reluctance among orthodox modern Hindus to accept him in his Vedic character as a mere sun-god. Yet such he is in the Rig-Veda, and he is quite an inferior deity in the Vedic pantheon,—far below Indra or Varuna, Savitri or Agni. It was not till the days of the Satapatha Brahmana that Vishnu obtained some prominence among gods; and it was not till the Puranik times,—long after the Buddhistic revolution,—that Vishnu was considered as a supreme deity.

Fire was naturally an object of worship among all ancient nations, and in India sacrificial fire received the highest regard. As no sacrifice could be performed without fire, Agni or Fire was called the invoker of the gods. He was called Yavishtha, or the "youngest" among the gods, because he was kindled anew at each time of sacrifice by the friction of *arani*, or the sacrificial wood. For this reason, he also received the name of Pramantha, or produced by friction.*

* The writer of the present paper examined with much interest a sample of Arani in the museum of Oxford, by which fire could be produced in less than a minute. If we may believe Mr. Cox, many of the Greek

So high was the esteem in which fire was held among the gods of the Rig-Veda, that when the ancient commentator Yaska, tried to reduce the number of the Vedic gods into three, he named Agni or fire as the god of the earth, Indra or Vayu as the god of the firmament, and the Sun as the god of the sky.

Vayu, or the air, has received less consideration at the hands of the Vedic bards, and there are but few hymns assigned to him. But the Maruts, or the storm-gods, are oftener invoked as we have seen before, probably because they inspired more terror, and they are considered as the companions of Indra in obtaining rain from the reluctant clouds! Rudra is a fierce deity, the father of the Maruts, loud-sounding as his name signifies, and a form of fire as the commentators Yaska and Sayana explain. There can be no doubt, therefore, as to the correctness of Dr. Roth's conclusion, that the original meaning of this loud-sounding fire, this father of storms, is—thunder.

Like Vishnu, Rudra is a third rate deity in the Rig-Veda, and only a few hymns are assigned to him. But like Vishnu, Rudra has attained prominence in later times, and is one of the Hindu Trinity of the Pauranik religion, a portion of the Supreme Deity. In some of the Upanishads we find the names *Kali*, *Karali*, &c., used as the names of different kinds of flame, and Durga, too, is a name of fire, and in the white Yajus Sanhita, we find Ambiká spoken of as the sister of Rudra. But when Rudra assumed a more distinct individuality in the Puranas, all these names were construed as the different names of his wife,—the Durga or Kali of our modern days! We have only to add that none of these goddesses, nor Lakshmi the wife of Pauranik Vishnu, is so much as mentioned even by name in the Rig-Veda.

Another god who has also changed his character in the Puranas, (and very much for the worse!) is Yama, the king of the dead. In the Puranas he is called the child of the sun, and there are some reasons (which Professor Max Müller explains with his usual eloquence,) for supposing that the original conception of Yama in the Rig-Veda is the conception of the departing sun. The sun sets and disappears, just as a

and Latin deities owe their name to the Sanscrit names of Fire. "In this name, Yavishtha, which is never given to any other Vedic god, we may recognize the Hellenic Hephaistos. *Note.* Thus, with the exception of Agni, all the names of the Fire and the Fire-gods were carried away by the Western Aryans; and we have Prometheus answering to Pramantha, Phoroneus to Bharanyu, and the Latin Vulcanus to the Sanscrit, Ulka."—*Cox's Mythology of Aryan Nations.*

"Agni is the god of fire; the Ignis of the Latins, the Ogni of the Slavonians."—*Muir's Sanscrit Texts.*

man's life ends : and the imagination of a simple race would easily conjure up an after world, where that departed diety would preside over departed spirits.

According to the Rig-Veda, Vivasvat, the sky, is the father, and Saranyu, the dawn, is the mother of Yama and his sister Yami. Who can be the offspring of the sky and the dawn but the sun or the day ? It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the twins Yama and Yami are, as Professor Max Müller explains, day and night in their original conception. There is a curious passage in the Rig-Veda in which the amorous sister Yami desires to embrace her brother as her husband, but the brother declines such union as unholy (X, 10). It is not difficult to fathom the import of this conversation ;—Day and Night, though eternally pursuing each other, can never be united.

But whatever the original conception of Yama may be, there is no doubt that, even in the Rig-Veda itself, that diety has attained a distinct individuality, and he is the king of the departed. So far his Vedic character agrees with his Pauranik character, but here the parallel ends. In the Veda he is the beneficent king of the happy world, where the virtuous live and enjoy themselves in after life. How different is the character he bears in the Puranas as the cruel and dread Punisher of the guilty.

The following extract embodies the Vedic idea of future happiness. We will only remark here, that allusions to the future world are brief and rare in the earlier portions of the Veda, that the belief seems to have gradually spread and become definite in the course of many centuries, and that there is no description of future life, like the one we quote below, except towards the very end of the work. And this illustrates a remark we made in the commencement, that the Rig-Veda shews the *growth* of the human mind, the *progress* of the human intellect.

“O my mind ! serve Yama the son of Vivasvat with offerings. He takes men of virtuous deeds to the realm of happiness. He clears the way for many ; all people go to him.

“Yama first pointed out to us the way in which we must travel. That path will not be destroyed again. All living beings will, according to their acts, follow by the path by which our forefathers have gone.” X, 14 & 12.

We may also quote here another passage from a hymn to Soma, which contains a fuller allusion to the future world. Soma, it is well known was the juice of a plant made into wine, and used as libation in sacrifices. Soma soon attained the rank of a deity, and all the hymns of the ninth Mandala are dedicated to him.

"O flowing Soma! take me to that immortal and eternal home where light dwells eternal, and which is in heaven. Flow, Soma! for Indra.

"Take me where Yama is king, where there are the gates of heaven, and where mighty rivers flow. Take me there and make me immortal. Flow, Soma! for Indra.

"Take me where there is the third heaven, where there is the third realm of light above the sky, and where one can wander at his will. Take me there and make me immortal. Flow, Soma! for Indra.

"Take me where every desire is satiated, where god Pradhna has his abode, where there is food and contentment. Take me there and make me immortal. Flow, Soma! for Indra.

"Take me where there are various pleasures and joys and delights, where every desire of the anxious heart is satiated. Take me there, and make me immortal. Flow, Soma! for Indra." IX, 113, 7 to 11.

We have spoken above of Yama and Yami as the twin-children of Vivasvat, the sky, by Saranyu, the dawn. It is remarkable that the same parents begot another twin offspring,—the two Asvins. There can be little doubt that they too, like Yama and Yami, were in their original conception the day and the night, or the dawn and the evening, as Professor Max Müller thinks, or "the transition from darkness to light when the intermingling of both produces that inseparable duality expressed by the twin-nature of these gods," as the late Dr. Goldstücker thought. The change from light to darkness and the intermingling of the two struck the early Aryans of India, and suggested that idea of twins which is so often observed in the Vedic pantheon.

But whatever the original conception of the Asvins may be, they appear in the Rig-Veda as great physicians: healers of the sick and the wounded, and tending many persons with kindness. Long lists of the kind acts of the two Asvins are given in several hymns, and the same cures are spoken of over and over.

Brahmanaspati is, as his name implies, the lord of hymns, Brahma in the Rig-Veda meaning hymn, and Brahmā meaning one of the priests whose duty it was to preside at sacrifices. The idea of this deity, Brahmanaspati,—or Brahmā as he is sometimes styled,—quite a third rate god-head in the Rig-Veda, was developed into the Supreme Creator of the universe in Pauranik mythology. Thus, by looking into our national records of the farthest antiquity, we trace the simple beginnings of that gorgeous Pauranik mythology which has since, for over a thousand years, swayed the opinions and conduct of hundreds of millions of our countrymen and countrywomen. It is like

tracing one of our great Indian rivers which spreads for miles together at its mouth to its very source, where a narrow but pure and crystal streamlet issues from the eternal mountains! Ideas develop in the course of time, just as rivers expand and receive fresh supplies of water in their course, until they lose all their primitive character, although still bearing the same names. And we can no more recognize the simple Vedic character of Brahmá the lord of prayer, of Vishnu the sun, and of Rudra the thunder, in the Supreme Creator, the Preserver and the Destroyer of the Puránas, than we can recognize the crystal streamlet at Hardwar in the sea-like expanse of the Ganges where it mingles with the Bay of Bengal.

These are all the important gods of the Rig-Veda. Of the goddesses, there are only two who have any marked individuality, *viz.*, Ushá the dawn, and Sarasvati the goddess of the river of that name, and afterwards the goddess of speech.

There is no lovelier conception in the Rig-Veda than that of the dawn, and there are no hymns in the work more truly touching and poetical than those dedicated to her. She was known by various names, and most of these names and the legends connected with them were brought by the Hindus from their original abode, since we find phonetical equivalents of these names, and a repetition of some of the legends too in Greek mythology. Ushá is the Eos of the Greeks and the Aurora of the Latins, Arjuni (the white one) is the Greek Argynoris, Brisaya is Briseis, Dahana is Daphne, Saramá is phonetically equivalent to the Greek Helena, and Saranyu, the mother of Yama and of the Asvins, is the Greek Erinys, and Ahana is the renowned goddess Athena.

We have already alluded to the legend of Saranyu running away from her husband Vivasvat, and then giving birth to the twin Asvins. We find the same legend among the Greeks who believed in Erinys Demeter running away in the same manner, and giving birth to Areion and Despoina. The idea in both cases is the same; it is the dawn disappearing as the day advances. The same idea has given rise to another beautiful Greek legend whose origin, too, we trace in the Rig-Veda. In many passages (I, 115, 2, for instance,) we find allusions of the sun pursuing the dawn as a man pursues a woman. The Greek Apollo in the same way pursues the Greek Daphne, until she is metamorphosed, *i. e.*, the dawn disappears!

Sarasvati, as her name signifies, is the goddess of the river of that name, which was considered holy, because of the religious rites performed on its banks and the sacred hymns uttered there. By a natural development of ideas, she was considered the goddess of those hymns, or in other words

the goddess of speech, in which character she is worshipped now. She is the only Vedic goddess whose worship continues in India to the modern day; all her modern companions, Durga, Kali, Lakshmi, and others, are creations of a later day.

Such is the nature-worship of the Rig-Veda; such were the gods and goddesses whom our forefathers worshipped over three thousand years ago on the banks of the Indus. The conception of the nature-gods and the simple and manly fervency with which they were adored, argue the simplicity and vigour of a manly conquering race, as well as the culture and thoughtfulness of a people who had already made a considerable advance in civilization. There are no indications in the Rig-Veda of any "temples reared by mortal hands," and consecrated as places of worship. On the contrary, every householder, every patriarch of his family, lighted the sacrificial fire in his own home, and poured libations of the Soma-juice, and prayed to the gods in the hymns which were then the common property of the nation, for happiness to his family, for abundant crops and wealth of cattle, for immunity from sickness and victory over the black aborigines. There was no separate priestly caste, and men did not retire into forests, and subject themselves to penances in order to meditate on religion, and chant these hymns. On the contrary, the old Rishis, the real Rishis as we find them in the Rig-Veda and not the fabled ones of whom we hear such monstrous stories in the Puranas, were worldly men,—men with considerable property in crops and in cattle, and surrounded by large families; men who, in times of danger, exchanged the plough for the spear and the sword, and defended against the black barbarians those blessings of civilization which they solicited from their gods, and secured with so much care.

But though each householder was himself the priest, the warrior and the cultivator, yet we find evidence of kings and rich men performing rites on a large scale by men specially proficient in the chanting of hymns and other religious rites, and hired for the purpose. And as we go towards the latter end of the Rig-Veda, we find this class of professional priests gaining in reputation and in wealth, honored by chiefs and kings, and rewarded by gifts of cattle and cars. We find mention of particular families specially proficient in the performance of religious rites and in the composition of hymns, and many of the existing hymns of the Rig-Veda were composed by members of these families, and were traditionally learnt by rote and preserved in those families.

The hymns of the Rig-Veda are divided into ten *mandalas*, so arranged according to the Rishis by whom they were com-

posed. The first and the last mandalas contain hymns composed by numerous Rishis, but the remaining eight mandalas belong, each of them, to a particular Rishi, or rather to a particular house or school of Rishis. Thus, the second mandala is a collection of hymns composed by Gritsamada of the house of Bhrigu and his descendants, the third mandala belongs to Visvámitra, the fourth mandala belongs to Vamadeva, the fifth to Atri, the sixth to Bháradvaja, the seventh to Vasishtha, the eighth to Kanva, and the ninth to Angiras. All these names are familiar to modern Hindus through the numberless legends which have surrounded them in Pauranik times, and modern Hindus still love to trace their descent from these ancient and revered houses.

It is to these and other venerable houses that the Aryan world owes the preservation of the most ancient compositions of the Aryan race. From century to century the hymns were handed down without break or intermission, and the youths of the priestly houses spent the prime of their life in learning by rote the sacred songs from the lips of their grey-headed sires. It was thus that the inestimable treasure, the Rig-Veda, was preserved for a thousand years and more, by memory alone.

With the progress of civilization, and as religious rites were more and more monopolized by professional priests, the simple religion of the earlier times underwent a change. Priests boldly grappled with the deeper mysteries of nature, they speculated about creation and about the future world, and while continuing the worship of the nature-gods, they attained to the conception of the Supreme Deity. We find evidence of all this in the last portions of the Veda. We have already quoted some verses about the future world, we will add here some more about creation and about the great Creator.

‘That All-wise Father saw clearly, and after due reflection, created the sky and the earth in their watery form, and touching each other. When their boundaries were stretched afar, then the sky and the earth became separated.

“He who is the all-creator (Visvakarmá) is great; he creates and supports all; he is above all and sees all. He is beyond the seat of the seven Rishis. So the wise men say, and the wise men obtain fulfilment of all their desires.

“He who has given us life; he who is the creator; he who knows all the places in this universe—*he is one, although he bears the names of many gods.* The people of all words wish to know of him.

“You cannot comprehend him who has created all this; your mind has not attained the power to comprehend him. People make guesses, being shrowded in a mist; they take their

food for the support of their life, and utter hymns and wander about." X 82, 1, 2, 3 and 7.

The incomprehensible nature of the deity has never been more graphically put than in the preceding hymn of our forefathers.

"At that time what is, was not, and what is not, was not. The earth was not, and the far stretching sky was not. What was there that covered? Which place was assigned to what object? Did the inviolate and deep water exist?"

"At that time death was not nor immortality, the distinction between day and night was not. There was only ONE who lived and breathed without the help of air, supported by himself. Nothing was, except HE.

"At first darkness was covered in darkness. All was without demarkation; all was of watery form. That Omnipresent was covered by what did not exist. He was born by meditation.

"Desire arose on the mind, the cause of creation was thus produced. Wise men reflect, and in their wisdom ascertain the birth of what is from what is not.

"Males with generating seed were produced, and powers were also produced. Their rays extended on both sides and below and above, a self-supporting principle beneath, and energy aloft.

"Who knows truly? Who will describe? When was all born? Whence were all these created? *The gods have been made after the creation.* Who knows whence they were made?"

"Whence all these were created, from whom they came, whether any one created them or did not create,—is known only to him who lives as Lord in the highest place. Or, perhaps, he does not know." X, 129.

Such is the first recorded attempt among the Aryan nations of the earth to pierce into the mysteries of creation; such are bold and sublime if somewhat vague ideas which dawned in the minds of our forefathers over three thousand years ago, regarding the commencement of this great universe. One more hymn we will quote here,—a remarkable hymn,—shewing how the later Rishis soared beyond the conception of the Nature-gods to the sublime idea of One Deity.

"In the beginning, he of the golden womb existed. He was the Lord of all from his birth. He has placed this earth and sky in their respective places. Whom shall we worship with offerings?"

"Him who has given life and strength; whose will is obeyed by all the gods; whose shadow is like immortality, and whose slave is death. Whom shall we worship with offerings?"

"Him who, by his power, is the sole king of all the living beings that see and move; him who is the Lord of all bipeds and quadrupeds. Whom shall we worship with offerings?"

"Him by whose power these snowy mountains have been made, and whose creations are this earth and its oceans. Him whose arms are these various directions, Whom shall we worship with offerings?"

"Him who has fixed in their places this sky and this earth; him who has established the heavens and the highest heaven; him who has measured the firmament. Whom shall we worship with offerings?"

"Him by whom the sounding sky and earth have been fixed and expanded; him whom the resplendent sky and earth own as Almighty; him by whose support the sun rises and gains its lustre. Whom shall we worship with offerings?" X, 121, 1 to 6.

We now see the force of the remark that the religion of the Rig-Veda is a progressive religion, that it travels from nature up to nature's god. We see the entire journey of the human mind in this wonderful book, from the simple child-like admiration of the ruddy dawn, to the deep and sublime attempt of the thoughtful priest to grasp the mysteries of creation and its great creator.

But unfortunately this progress was not unattended with evils. As the priestly class rose in power and in knowledge, in wordly influence and in true wisdom, the worship of the ancestral gods fell almost entirely into their hands, and the people lost their manly self-reliance and sank under priestly influence. In the concluding portions of the Rig-Veda therefore, we find evidences on the one hand of high thought and culture and bold speculations of the priests, and on the other hand of the growing superstition of the people. The numerous mantras to be uttered in cases of snake-bite, or diseases, or on the shrieking of an owl, all belong to the last period of the Rig-Veda age, and betoken a growing dependence on the priestly class. At the close of the Rig-Veda, therefore, we discern the first germs of all that was the glory, and all that was the shame of Hindu civilization. The first speculations of philosophy and science have commenced,—and the slavish subjection of the nation to a priestly class has also commenced!

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ART. V.—LIFE AND WRITINGS OF FRIEDRICH AUGUST, PRINCE OF SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN-SON-DERBURG-AUGUSTENBURG. (GRAF VON NOER).

1. *Altes und Neues aus den Ländern des Ostens.* (Things New and Old from Eastern Lands.) Hamburg. W. Mauke Söhne. Second Edition, 1870.
2. *Kaiser Akbar, ein Versuch über die Geschichte Indiens im sechzehnten Jahrhundert.* (The Emperor Akbar, an Essay towards the history of India in the 16th Century.) Lieden. E. J. Brill, 1880.
3. *Briefe und Auszeichnungen aus seinem Nachlass, herausgegeben von Carmen, Gräfin von Noer.* (Letters and Extracts from papers left by the Count von Noer. Edited by Carmen, Countess von Noer. Nördlinger. Verlag der C. H. Bech'schen Buchhandlung. 1886.

IT is pleasant to be reminded that there yet shines a star over India which has power to witch men from distant homes, to tread her shores and the misty mazes of her story. One man so fascinated was he who is the subject of this notice and to him India was the dream of boyhood and the goal of his dominant enthusiasm. Born to a high place in the world's ranks, a prince and potential sovereign, he gently shook off the fetters which politics and pleasure might have rivetted on him even in exile, and yielded his obedience to the more puissant attractions of an ideal of his own—the East. A vague word, and so too for many years, was the direction of the cult, but the devotee's worship eventually took form and set into definite acts. The first of these was the book entitled "*Altes und Neues aus den Ländern des Ostens*," and the second was a life of the Emperor Akbar.

Friedrich Christian Charles August, Prince of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg—to give him the full title which distinguishes his from other houses of the Duchies—was born on November 16th, 1830, at Schleswig, of which fort his father, Prince Friedrich Emile August was commandant. The first eighteen years of his life were passed between the town of his birth and Noer, his paternal estate. Prince Emile was a soldier through and through and regarded his profession as the only one possible to a man of rank. He was not readily accessible to novel ideas and never, even remotely, anticipated the possibility of his son's taking a new path and deserting his natural calling of arms. Prince Friedrich was, however, heir of other elements

than those which constituted his father's simple and martial character; he had part in his mother's gentler and more chastened spirit.

This lady, Countess Henriette von Daneskiold-Samsøe, was one of those women without fam, who are amongst the potent factors of human history, by reason of their power to guide. She was the object of her children's reverential affection, and it may be said of her with truth, that her effluence was tenderness. Years after she has gone to her rest, a stranger finds the perfume of her character clinging round the home of her early married life, in traditions of her gracious presence and benign thoughtfulness. It was she who fostered, by sharing her son's bias to books, and she supported him too, in his at times, self-willed divergence from his father's plans. She was an invalid during most of her life and there is ample suggestion in the volume from which most of the material for this sketch of her son's life is gathered (Letters and Extracts) that the young prince, together with her happy gifts of mind and temper, drew also that delicacy of constitution which alloyed his life. It was partly in consequence of this delicacy and partly a result of his father's predilection for a manly military training that the boy's education was desultory and insufficient. It was not, he says, till 1848 that he had a tutor who gave him any conception of what to learn meant. With this teacher, a gentleman named Knuth, he was in that year, in his usual summer home of Noer, and reading Greek and Latin with seeming profit, when his studies were rudely interrupted by the outbreak of the rebellion in the Duchies.

Noer is a long stretch of wood, arable and pasture land, which lies some fourteen miles west of Kiel, along Eckernfjärde, an inlet of the Baltic. In itself, it is better fitted to be the brooding place of fancy than the school of arms, for tranquillity rests upon it, at least in stormless summer, with folded wings. Whether one looks across its fiord to the gently rising hills, or strolls in its cloistered woods, or watches the meditations of its mighty herds, one breathes only air of prevailing peace. Its beeches climb down to meet the sea; their mossy fringe of turf touches the weedy hem of the translucent waters; inland, pines open gloomy depths to show fit scenes for fairy folk, and at twilight one chances on browsing deer or thrills to their swift scud across the glades. The young heir of all these delights appreciated them and seems to have passed the greater part of eighteen years contentedly amongst them. In 1848, a year momentous in history and full of special and evil consequence to his family, the beloved home at Noer was broken up never to be restored. Prince Emile thought himself called by duty to head the revolted army of the Duchies, and his son wa

enrolled under him. A soldier's life was not to the boy's taste, but he did his best by energetic drill, to qualify himself to play a worthy part in the contest. Besides his aversion for war, another sentiment contributed to make the present struggle distasteful,—distress at the rupture of the ties which bound his family to his Danish kinsfolk. Of this feeling, the following passage from his autobiography is proof: "I tried to do my duty as a German, but it was not always easy. My mother was born a Daneskiold, and how many dear friends and kinsmen had we not in Denmark. Besides I was seventeen, and up to that time a stranger to politics." It is not our place to follow the course of the war further than as it affected our young soldier. His letters to his mother who fearing to be taken as a hostage, had gone to Rendsburg and later, for greater security, to Hamburg, are graphic and lively, making the best of considerable discomforts and detailing his adventures. He always had pleasant comrades, a significant fact which casts a becoming light back on himself. One night he is in a "musty den," which reminds him of scenes in "our dear Walter Scott," and on another occasion he begs for books, "Kühner's Greek Grammar and anything nice and profitable," to supplement his available mental pabulum, the Bible and a Life of Alexander. A letter written from the camp to his father at this time, shows that he did not stand in ceremonious awe of his general. "Men always want what they have not got. So it is with our captain, who is longing for our blue coats. For my own granny, please send me a proper helmet of no matter what shape. The felt helmets, provided for us three infants (Prince Christian, Prince John of Glücksburg and himself) are so fantastic and theatrical, that the squadron will never keep countenance at sight of them." The war dragged on, chiefly in inaction for the younger prince, and this inaction, combined with irritation at the delay of prussian reinforcements, so fretted him that he at length wrote to his father (who had already quitted the field) saying that the sooner he also took leave the better, if the national rising was to be a mere demonstration, and that the affair disgusted him even more than it had done at first; so that he had not in his ensuing exile, the comfort of suffering for an offence which he had been happy in committing! The above letter was written in July and in the following October, we find him in London and on the eve of a voyage to Australia, undertaken for the restoration of his health which had been somewhat severely compromised by the exposures of the campaign.

When the plan of a voyage was mooted, Prince Friedrich, who even as a child had his fancy filled with marvellous notions about the East, had ardently desired to be sent to India but the

gratification of his wish was forbidden by climatic considerations. On November 3rd 1849, he sailed from Plymouth in the *Alfred* and under charge of its commander, Captain Carr. His letters home are bright, boyish and full of interest in the novelties of his life: they tell at length of inland expeditions in Australia; of the hospitality of his colonial hosts and of the fun he derived from his shifting circumstances—one day parading Melbourne under the wing of honest Captain Carr and another receiving, as an "illustrious personage," a salute of 21 guns. His return voyage brought him to the very gates of his imaged paradise, for he set foot in Ceylon and Madras and stayed some three weeks in Calcutta. He had cherished the plan of a sight of the *Himálayas* and of *Kashmír* but fever restricted his excursions to the neighbourhood of Calcutta.

In October, he reluctantly quitted Bengal and voyaged to Egypt whence, with a mind satiate with wonders, he crossed to Smyrna. The singular beauty of this city impressed him greatly, and one of his best passages is devoted to the celebration of her charms. The inroad of martial duty on his studies in 1848, had not destroyed his book-mindedness and he enjoyed now the subtle pleasure of congruity, by reading the right books in the right spot and took *Herodotus* and *Homer* in hand. In January 1851, he is in Constantinople, and lamenting to his father, his coming departure for Europe. Naturally he does not reckon the City of the Golden Horn as amongst things european and delayed there until peremptory injunctions to return to Germany reached him. One feature of his letters is especially clear now and henceforth—definiteness of opinion in all matters affecting himself. Hitherto he had travelled alone, except for the attendance of a trusted servant from Noer and he now, with incisive brevity, replies to the suggestion of a travelling companion by saying, that such a person is the greatest possible hindrance. Not that he is misanthropic; he likes some people even as travelling companions, but he would not endure the gêne of one chosen and settled beforehand. In Constantinople, he selected a friend who was to exercise strong directing influence on his thought and studies for several years to come. To many readers his admiration for David Urquhart will appear as strange as it did to his later friend, Dr. Samuel Birch and to Prince Emile. It was, however, a fact of magnitude in his career, and the cause of constant discussion between him and his father.*

* The prince's autobiography contains a note on Urquhart's life from which the following facts are drawn:—He was born in 1805, of an old Cromarty family, and as a child saw much of the continent in his mother's company. He went to Oxford and there devoted himself somewhat to mineralogy, more to political economy and most to oriental languages

Urquhart's influence soon made itself felt by the impressionable young orientalist. Prince Friedrich became one of his most ardent disciples, and wrote concerning him to Prince Emile in a style of admiration which was certainly calculated to awaken apprehension. It was inevitable that a parent so practical and positive, should regret his son's submission to influence which could inspire a passage such as the following rapturous effusion :—"Urquhart is a man without a second. He acts on me like a magnet on steel; some unknown magic has drawn and fettered me to him. He has taught me, for the first time, to know myself; before his eye all the secrets of the soul disclose themselves; the heights and depths of human history are clear to him." Persons who are free from any responsibility as to the upbringing of the writer of this pæan, may admit the charm of the hero-worship it confesses, for every heart warms to the uprising of an awakening soul. Every one, too, who would have his children go far on the path of higher experience, would willingly see them surrender themselves for a time, to the attraction of a man who had, at least, the appearance of high doing, high thinking and espousal of the right. It is however certain that the plain-thinking soldier-prince would have none of these sentiments and he probably expressed, brusquely and irreconcilably, his dissatisfaction at an intimacy with the perfervid Scot to whom he with justice, attributed what he deplored, his son's almost exclusive occupation with matters extra Europe. Prince Friedrich was throughout life noticeable for the constancy and warmth of his likings and it was natural that he should stand by the man of his choice. It was none the less natural to his candour and rectitude that he should give his father his due, in an exposition of his reasons for thwarting wishes he felt bound to consider, though not always to obey. Prince Emile was so far from re-assured by his son's arguments, that he enjoined an immediate departure from Constantinople where the young prince had tarried some three months.

Two years had passed since sentence of banishment had driven Prince Emile from Noer, and he was now residing for a time at Grafenberg where his son joined him. The first flush

and history. In 1827, he accompanied Lord Cochrane to Greece and a few years later, entered upon a diplomatic career as Secretary to the Embassy in Constantinople. In the political questions of the time he warmly espoused the cause of Turkey and by this and his expressed hatred of Russia, set himself in opposition to Lord Palmerston and rendered his position at the Embassy untenable. He, therefore, returned to England and entered Parliament. Amongst his writings, the "Spirit of the East" is indisputably pre-eminent. The latter years of his life were passed in complete retirement.

of reunion was a season of delight and happy exchange of experiences but the stagnant existence of the little watering place soon became irksome to the youth who, like Ulysses, "could not rest from travel" and was "yearning in desire to follow knowledge." He therefore welcomed a proposal from his father to accompany him to London and to visit the Great Exhibition of 1881. Not as the young prince remarks, with characteristic loftiness of sentiment, that he cared for the Exhibition. For what so high-strung soul forsooth, could an exhibition have attractions? But the journey was an outlet from Grafenberg and might issue in action more consonant than sight-seeing. One cannot help hoping that Prince Emile found at the World's Fair some more congenial fellow *flâneur* than his ambitious boy, who could hardly at this time have been a complaisant comrade for idle days. As he himself said, he was a somewhat spoiled child, and moreover meant to go far in life and so was overweighted by the impedimenta of his long march, in shape of stores of high views and aspirations, as well as some stock of such happily friable commodities as priggishness and stiffness of opinion. In these respects he was like other young men of good calibre and must sometimes have inconvenienced those who had to march with him.

Prince Friedrich's sentiments towards London had begun in the most wholesome possible way, with a little aversion. In 1849, he had been repelled by her fogs and by various english ways which did not chime in with his tastes. Now, in 1851, London seemed different, and he perceived that he had overcome many prejudices in the colonies, and that, without his knowledge, foreign lands had matured him. This, he says, "was a pleasant sensation; "I began to feel at home in England, and silently resolved to "return there for a longer stay." Visits to London were a frequently recurring incident of his future life and England became a second home, for which he cherished ever increasing affection. Such friendship for one's own country, evinced by a foreigner, is always a most grateful compliment. Englishmen returned it to the prince in liking and hearty welcome. His english friends were always amongst his nearest and it was an english lady who stood sponsor to his first child. On completion of this, his second visit, the father and son returned to Grafenberg, whence they were soon driven by the necessity of seeking in Berlin, medical advice for Princess Henriette who was constantly suffering but ever the "benediction" and "sunlight" of her circle. In December, all were in Altona where the young Princess Luise was confirmed. "A sad Christmas: so near our home, and exiles!"

A stimulant so powerful as two years of travel and the kindling intimacy of Urquhart, could not but bear fruit, and one of its

first results was a resolve in the young prince to fill up the *lacunae* of his education. His mental habit seems to have been to make up his mind silently as to what he wanted and then to obtain his parents' sanction, willing or unwilling—in brief, he was accustomed to have his own way. His father clearly regarded him as a remarkable person and one whose vagaries were not to be comprehended but, as a general rule, he ratified their action. At the present crisis of Prince Friedrich's intellectual hunger, he decided that he could best satisfy it at Cambridge and accordingly entered as a fellow-commoner of Trinity, in February 1852. He commenced his studies with an ardour which prepares one for finding that he did not care for the mass of the undergraduates who, so far as he saw, did nothing but row and box. His exceptional experience of life would, in itself, put him out of tune with that careless and pleasure-loving crew, but he soon accustomed himself to all he had at first disliked, even to the "schoolboy discipline," and to dining with 500 persons, and, moreover, he found friends after his own heart and pattern. His vacations were spent partly at work in Cambridge and partly in happy recreation with his parents and sister at Combe House, in Devonshire.*

Not the flow of time and not changed scenes and relations could touch the vital point of the Prince's enthusiasm. His orientalism persisted; so too his friendship for Urquhart, and no less his father's outspoken annoyance at both. The following letter illustrates his mode of looking at his own conduct and also of setting it forth to his censor.

Trinity College, August 2nd 1852. "I have not had leisure
"to reply sooner to your affectionate and valued letter of the
"26th ultimo. You will, I am sure, excuse the omission of which,
"although I had the best intentions of writing, I have been
"guilty. Be assured that the delay was not caused by irritation
"at the contents of your letter; on the contrary, your solicitous
"expression of opinion is in this grateful to me, that it gives me,
"after faithful and full self-examination, the opportunity of
"possibly removing your apprehensions."

"Dear father! you are distressed by the liveliness of my imagination, by my enthusiasm for things eastern, by my fancied
"contempt for Europe, and perhaps, above all, by my friendship
"and reverence for Urquhart, who is now pointed at as the con-
"temner of Europe, the fanatic worshipper of the East and the
"friend of Paganism. If all you think were true, you would
"certainly be justified in taking me for an unreflecting visionary
"and I should deserve your reproaches. Forgive me, however,

* The "Remains" locate Combe House in Devonshire, but it is possible that the house meant is the one well known and nearer town.

"if I venture to assert that it is not so. How can you believe it true? Would it be possible for me to despise the superiority of european countries, with their daily fruit of novelties; in which improvement and invention contend; where armies will soon move with the speed of their balls; where thought and word are sped to distant lands in minutes or seconds, and where the dark secrets of nature are sought out by the light of science."

"Most assuredly I am European in sympathies and intend to remain so, otherwise I should not toil after european learning. Of what avail would it be to me, if not to use in and for Europe? And do you think it a disadvantage, that I have enjoyed in living vision what I now learn by printed rule?"

"'If we are Christians,' you say and seem to imply that to orientals, as such, every moral worth is wanting and that it is desecration for Christians to occupy themselves with the life, learning and science of Orientals. Dear father! it is my experience that the reading of the Scriptures has become an immeasurably higher happiness since I have been in the East. It was only when I came to know the eastern idiom and conditions of living, that I was in a position to understand biblical images and descriptions; the parables; the life of early men; the relations of our Lord to his disciples; vividly and accurately. The profound simplicity of the biblical language has since then caused me greater emotion. I am convinced that even the most material of the rationalists who assert that biblical allegory veils purely human relations, that even such a one would learn from eastern travel how admirably true, to the smallest details, the Bible is in its allegorical language and how mighty and moving in its simplicity. Do not think that Buddha or Brahma or Muhammad draws me to the East, and I beg you to trust a little to the experience and insight of your son."

"As for my relations with Urquhart, I am grieved that you should underestimate him and write of him as you do. My relations with him and my opinion of him are too well known to you for more words to be necessary. Let it suffice when I say that from the first he has been my well-doer and my fatherly friend. He is the only one of my so-called friends whom time and circumstances have not changed. This has made me and I am sure rightly, honour his heart no less than I respect his intellect and this, in spite of his occasional remarkable or hasty utterances. I am specially surprised to find you quoting the *Times* of which you have so long known the untrustworthiness and the malicious lies of which have so much injured you and our cause."

"I hope, dear father! that you will now think me less of a dreamer possessed by eccentric imaginations. If my words lighten your anxieties and facilitate harmony of opinion, I shall

"be happy but if they do not, I know no better counsel than for each of us to keep to his own opinion. If you find passages in this letter which displease you, I beg you not to think me presumptuous but to forgive me, for I have written out what was in my heart. Be assured that, notwithstanding the widest differences in details of opinion, I shall always conform most willingly to your wishes and your will."

The final sentence of his letter notwithstanding, Prince Friedrich not only kept his opinions but acted upon them in opposition to those of his father, for he spent the rest of the year in frequent intercourse with Urquhart and some portion of it as his guest in London. In order to conclude here his relations with this man, of whom it may truly be said that his powers of fascination were remarkable, we quote the following passage from a letter written in 1856, by the Prince to Dr. Samuel Birch:—After mentioning that he has read, for he knows not what time, Urquhart's "Spirit of the East," he goes on to say that it is impossible to peruse this *chef d'œuvre* without the deepest regret for the failings of a man of indisputably lofty genius. "You," he says to Birch, "knew him only in his later period and saw only the accesses of passion of a disabused and embittered mind and the strength of an unbridled temper. I, however—and you will forgive me my lingering affection—saw him otherwise. I saw him in the early days of his success, when his magic influence worked on all with perfect and irresistible charm. Let me remember this, if only with sorrow and regret! Without sentimentality, I may say of him and the time, *Fortasse et hæc olim meminisse juvabit*. It would ill beseem me to deny due meed of gratitude to the man who disclosed to me the wonders of the East."

The Prince's stay at Cambridge did not exceed 18 months and at its expiration he moved with his family to Paris. He commemorates their departure as having been made the more agreeable by a cabman's strike and the necessity of making their exodus in the cart of an obliging fishmonger. Mr. Disraeli gave him on this occasion an introduction to Count de Persigny. There would seem to have been a lasting mutual liking between Prince Friedrich and Disraeli for in 1879, we find the former writing to his wife from London that he had paid a visit to Sidonia and had been received with open arms. "He was magnificent during a half hour, devoted mostly to remembrances of old times: he was like a young man in flash of mind, brilliancy and sparkle. I seemed to hear a chapter of Vivian Grey. The dear man! he is still of one's old friends."

The wanderers passed from Paris to Heidelberg and here the brother and sister took up various studies together. They were initiated in Egyptology by Julius Braun, listened to lectures on

the fine arts and, actively and quiescently, divided the musical training of an old lady, in whose society the Prince says that they spent many friendly hours. These tranquil pursuits were interrupted by the Crimean war. The Prince makes little mention of politics but so much appears, that his father was naturally always on the alert, in times of European complications for some happy chance to mend his own fortunes. At the present juncture, Prince Fredrich went at once to Mainz and Paris and met the Emperor—facts suggestive of a tide of hopes and fears in his circle. In Paris at this time, he formed one of a charmed circle of art and literature and rejoiced in his existence among associates of mark. At this time, also, he had matured a definite project of work, namely, the turning of his experiences and observations as a traveller into a literary form. The outcome of this plan was "*Altes und Neues aus den Ländern des Ostens*." (Things new and old from Eastern lands);—a book published under a pseudonym, that of Onomander, because, to use the courtly phrase of M. Alfred de Maury, the Prince feared to compromise a name which had not awaited the issue of a book to become illustrious.*

In the November of 1854, Prince Emile took his family to Paris, with the intention of making this his permanent residence. The younger Prince settled down to steady work but gave the world her due share of his attention and particularly enjoyed the society which gathered round Lady Holland and Prince Napoleon. He had for a brief space most of the elements of happiness at his service: people he loved in his home, people of distinction of all kinds as associates in society and congenial occupation, to which novelty, if also the anxieties, added the charm of experiment. Brevity, however, was the mark of all the arrangements of the exiled family and in most instances of change, a brevity rendered imperative by ill-health. It was now not only Princess Henriette for whom a southern winter was ordered but also for her daughter Luise; Pau was selected for their winter residence and the Prince was left alone with his books on a fourth story of Rue Luxembourg. Here he worked hard through the winter, varying his literary occupations by an occasional flight into the gayest scenes of the gayest days of Eugénie's Paris.

In April, he was again interrupted and called to Pau by his mother's dangerous illness. Certainly, when one sees as one does, in following the history of the Noer family only in this one generation, how much of sorrow and stultification is brought about by the incursions of sickness, one has rebellious stirrings

* Introductory notice by M. A. de Maury, Membre de l'Institut, to the French Translation of Kaiser Akbar, by M. G. Bonet Maury.

in favour of greater robustness if less civilization and of a legacy from the ages of healthy stupidity, rather than that of which we are heirs and which includes the seeds of so much wasted existence. Hardly had the young *littérateur* been set at ease by the almost miraculous recovery of his mother than he himself became the victim of over-strain and anxiety. London was then and often after his sanitarium and of it he says that it never refused him its healing influence. Nor did it now ; but even in the society of genial friends, he was filled with sad presentiment, like the chill of approaching fate ; possibly a premonition of the heart affection which caused his death. Prince Emile would seem to have wished his son's present visit to London to serve a political end, in so far as this could be done by making himself known at Court. To this the son acceded, saying that it seemed right, because if all the family hawsers broke, there would still be a last grapnel and harbour in "dear old England." Accordingly he frequented levées and drawing-rooms and was received with great kindness by the Queen at Buckingham Palace where he paid a visit of some duration. Notwithstanding that he accomplished his father's wishes and was happy in the pleasant reception accorded to him, he was, by the beginning of July, confirmed in his previous opinion that *magna societas est magna solitudo*, and wearied of the fashionable whirligig. He therefore asked his father's forgiveness for retiring to his work, saying that the portion of *Altes und Neues* which had appeared, had excited more attention than he had dared to hope, and that he thought it would be unwise in him to quit the path he had chosen and which harmonized so well with his tastes and habits.

In the autumn of 1857, Prince Friederich joined his family in Paris at his father's house in Rue Balzac. This and the following, were years of great domestic trouble, for not only did he himself suffer from several serious attacks of illness but he experienced the deepest grief of his life, in the loss of his mother. This gentle lady had in her the heart of a hero for she had opposed to fortune throughout life the buckler of a cheerful spirit and now, at her supreme hour, looked the foe in the face with quiet courage. She knew that she must go but she neither shirked the truth nor trembled. Having commended her daughter to her son's care and having bravely borne many hours of pain, she passed away calmly on September 10th, 1858. Fate had now no harder blow to deal out to the exiles ; they had lost their centre and comforter, the guide and counsellor who had heartened all who came within her circle.

Of the years which follow this crowning grief, Prince Frederick says that he can give no correct account. Travel in

Italy filled a short space, residence in London and the study of Sanskrit with Professor Goldstücker another interval but gloom and annoyance would seem to have hung over all. "The death of my mother had rent the family tie which had once linked us so closely together. In everything it was perceptible that we had lost our guardian spirit." Vexation and chagrin culminated in 1864, when Prince Emile not only entered upon political action of which his son disapproved but at the age of 64, announced his intention of taking to himself a bride of 25. It was inevitable that the son of a mother so beloved as had been the Princess Henriette, should resent such a marriage and not unnatural that its announcement should decide him to put half the world between himself and its perpetrators. The lady of his father's choice was a Miss Marie Esther Lee, about whom the *Almanach de Gotha* gives the further information that she was the daughter of David Lee, gentleman of New York, and that on the death of Prince Emile, she married a Prussian Quartermaster General, Count Von Waldersee.

Hurrying his departure so as to anticipate the marriage ceremony, Prince Friedrich left Dover in an English man-of-war, the *Orontes*, on October 27th, 1864. He set forth sick at heart and resolute to blot from memory his load of griefs and chagrins. Only brief allusion is made in the biography, to what must have been a fertile source of annoyance. During the years of exile, absence, neglect and the costliness of a wandering life were casting a rising pile of debt on Noer. This fact and its contingent details must have annoyed and have continually obtruded. Prince Friedrich, being more susceptible than the majority of men, felt as a wound many a touch of sorrow or chagrin which would have lain light and unnoticed on the feelings of a robuster man. Certainly most men would, even in exile, have used his chances in the two capitals of western Europe to dull regret in pleasure and in the search for that advancement which not rarely waits on clever, attractive and high-born youth. Very certainly many a man would have viewed his father's remarriage, to a bride 39 years his junior, with more cynicism than surprise and chiefly as it might affect the future of the rent-roll. With tougher armour, Prince Friedrich would have felt less regret but so, too, would those friends who mourn his death.

To return to his voyage. The long Cape route was happily traversed and it is a proof of the winning manners of the lonely traveller that, on his quitting the ship, the crew asked permission to give him a farewell cheer, in order not only to show respect to his rank but also in sign of personal esteem and liking. "The yards were manned, the word given, and a

"hurrah rose such, that everything trembled and my heart not least. I was touched and rejoiced by this cordial greeting from british sailors."

The early part of 1865 was spent by Prince Friedrich in Southern India, partly because Mr. James Fergusson (the archæologist and a personal friend) had advised him that this was the region in which best to study classic Hinduism; partly in pursuance of a scheme of working northwards and obtaining some general acquaintance with the whole peninsula.

The Prince's biography of this period contains several letters of interest, written for the most part to Goldstücker. The first is from Colombo and gives an account of a visit to a temple at three miles distance from the town, during the course of which Sanskrit *slokas* were read and high matters of exoteric and esoteric Buddhism discussed. The months intervening between the Prince's arrival in Ceylon, in December 1864 and the date, April 1865, when he took refuge, a "demi-Lazarus" in Utacamand were filled to overflowing with novel experience. Sparing our readers the full mention of places visited, his doings may be briefly summarized: he made many expeditions for sport, searched libraries, saw temples, palaces and shrines, had an unfair amount of illness, took everything with an even mind and when possible, with the keen enjoyment of the man who "cannot rest from travel." Amongst other incidents of interest is that of his searching at Trichinopoly for Heber's tomb and laying upon it a tribute of flowers. Another, which must have seemed like a home greeting, is that, in Tranquebar, he met a native gentleman who spoke Danish and had in his house portraits of the Schleswig-Holstein family. From his leisurely retreat in Ooty, he wrote letters to Goldstücker and Fergusson from which the following quotations are made, in order to show the strength of India's possession of him and his own enthusiasm in her cause.

(End of May 1865). "You know the general aim of my journey as well or better than I. It is so wide and comprehensive that I am frightened when I contemplate it and instead of calculating the means at my disposal, I think only of what I lack for the possibility of success—health, knowledge, money and many another requisite of which I am not yet conscious. I want to acquire a thorough knowledge of India and naturally of the more civilized lands of the north in particular. I want to study nature and men, science and art, through the millenium of their development, with the inner grasp which only living sight can give. My mind dilates and my fancy is heated by this mighty purpose and, here is the *crux*, I have not the smallest notion how or to what end I shall use it all. I have begun

"my journey like a man pursued by fate, almost without will, aimless and yet moved by an invincible power, a spiritual force which admits no reason, no opposition and which urges me onwards without my knowing whither or wherefore! Will you counsel me? Willtime give counsel? Or was my father right?"

Writing to Fergusson on 19th June 1865, he says: "India is above all other lands, the land of abstract contemplation or as practical utilitarians say, of dreamy do-nothingness. Be this as it may, I feel myself the better after a solitary facing of things. It helps wonderfully, if not to understand, yet to feel that mysterious local influence which seems to me to contribute to right perception and insight, better than the restless, ant-like, erudite curiosity in which the dominant idea round which all else should centre, is lost in the confused and confusing mass of details. The East naturally predisposes to quiet contemplation and I am coming to understand, why it is that its people have always been indifferent or bad chroniclers and, moreover, I readily forgive them the doubt and uncertainty into which they cast an inquiring mind. Jacquemont says: 'Il faudrait écrire l'histoire des Indes en grands traits,' and in this he is certainly right, just as you were right in urging me to hold fast to great periods and not to be led away to pursue details. As for myself, I should not like to learn simply in order to know but should like to utilize my knowledge for something which possesses a higher independence in itself. Here (I think to myself) perhaps the work of the student touches that of the artist."

During his wanderings, his sense of ignorance and undirected zeal grew strong in the Prince's mind. He wished for a companion who could be to him, like Sir William Jones, a complete lexicon and he perceived that to effect anything he must concentrate attention and study. Of the usefulness of this last necessity he might have seen proof, had he needed conviction, in a fact of which he makes jocular complaint, namely, that the officials, though speaking Tamil and Telugu as well as they did English, knew no more than the old walls of the ruins themselves of the great and splendid India of ancient days. *Pour belle cause!* They concentrated their attention. Spite of many drawbacks to enjoyment and spite of his bewilderment as to future work, the Prince is still the thrall of India's fascinations and feels no regret at having taken up, at her bidding, the pilgrim's staff. "Everything in her," he writes to Goldstücker, "is gigantic and raises the spirit above pettiness. In extent, form, natural objects and ancient monuments, she is unique. Her indwelling poetry must stir the pulse of all who have not fishes' blood. If, as you have more

"than once told me and as I am disposed to believe, I am deficient in discrimination, there never, thank God, fails me the inner joy which prompts to action, braces to endurance and even through heavy trials, preserves that cheer of mind without which the miserable every-day life of this oldrag-shop, this place of pangs and torture, could not be endured."

Vicissitudes and disappointments had taught the Prince to shrink from forming plans of action and his present experience bore out his reluctance. Following on news received in Utacamand, that his sister was betrothed to Prince Handjerie, there came, on July 29th, telegraphic information that his father was dead and that his sister wished him to return to her. He took the first ship available from Madras and reached Marseilles, after an absence of little more than eleven months, on September 14th. He arrived at a time when a lengthened quarantine was in force, on account of cholera. On the second day, when a strong mistral had cut off communication with the shore, he was watching the waves which the storm was lashing to foam, and observed a small boat fighting its way through the rough waters. With great difficulty it made the ship, and to the surprise of all was seen to carry two women. When, with much trouble, they had been embarked, he discovered that one was his sister and the other her faithful companion, Madame Delalande, a lady of over 60 years of age. They had travelled from Havre to Marseilles, and tempted the stormy sea to greet him before he could set foot on shore. Ten years later the Prince shewed his gratitude for this manifestation of disinterested affection by saying that no event of his life had caused him such deep emotion.

During the months immediately following his return, Prince Friedrich was occupied by family matters. On his way north, he made acquaintance with his sister's betrothed, Prince Handjerie, in Geneva, and was on September 26th, in London, arranging for her coming marriage. The ceremony was performed a month later, and after continuing his stay another month, the Prince set out on November 30th for Noer, where his presence was necessitated by matters in connection with his succession. That he was free to return after an absence of 17 years to Noer, is probably due to the fact that the Duchies had passed under prussian government, for Denmark remained closed to him for some years to come. Return to Noer could not but be fraught with pain and, to the unavoidable depression, the further element was added of an arrival at four on a winter's morning. "It was," says the Prince, "one of those moments, some at least of which fall to every mortal lot and in which one is crushed by the sense of the utter tragedy of human life. Here, now, were roar of sea and storm, bare ghostly trees, wan wide fields, a few servants

"lighting the threshold and I alone—the only man of my house!" In March of the following year, he performed a last duty to his parents and laid their bodies in their final resting place. His father had died at Beyrut, his mother in Paris : now both lay under the northern sky of their early wedded home. To this duty there was added another, the redemption of Noer from debt. Presumably because he could not afford to live on his estate, he left it, in April 1866, for London where he resumed his former literary life and took up again the study of Sanscrit which he had begun with Professor Goldstücker in 1860. He was however restless and had lost balance ; at intervals a renewal of his broken travels tempted him but resolve was delayed, in part by anxiety as to Princess Handjerie's health and in part, by the indifference of depression of spirit. His friends and even his sister, urged a third journey upon him for they saw that he was wearing out in restlessness and vague longing. Before coming to a decision, the Prince made a series of visits in Europe, assured himself of his sister's happiness by a visit to Manerbe, her Norman home ; saw Guizot in his Tusculum and stayed in Leyden, Amsterdam and the Hague. He then returned to London and as next of kin, assisted as best man at the wedding of Prince Christian.

Full of sorrow as his cup had been, it had not yet overflowed for his sister still lived. In September she too, was taken from him and he was left to the bitter freedom of loneliness. On his way to London from Manerbe, where he had witnessed her death, he went to his father's house in Rue Balzac. "In the little dining-room, there still stood the table with its six chairs, just as of old but I was the sole survivor of the six who once formed a genial circle round it."

Lonely as was Prince Friedrich by the loss of his nearest kin, there remained one person who had ever shown and who continued to show, affectionate interest in his career. This was his father's sister, Caroline Amélie, the Queen dowager of Denmark. She now remonstrated with him on his intention of further self-exile from Europe. She could not understand his reasons for going to a foreign country, instead of settling down on his estate. He replied, by saying that marriage and prosperous landlordism were put out of his reach by poverty and that he was at once indisposed and too young to live at Noer, only to economise. He therefore would live a simple gentleman till his affairs had somewhat improved. An additional reason for foreign residence was found in his desire to learn, if not to forget, yet to bear his losses and he truly says that for such misfortunes as his, there is but the one cure of occupation.

Prince Friedrich's third and last term of residence in India extended from June 1867 to April 1869. On landing at Madras

he went at once to Utakamand, there to await a safer season for travelling. Here he remained until July 31st, when he set out on a fortnight's experimental excursion which he followed up in October by a longer tour in the Mysore country. The following letter of Mr. James Fergusson gives a lively account of both exploits:—

"Ballári, January 7th, 1868. You wish for news of me. Here it is in the condensed form of a *tartine de voyage*—not quite à la Jacquemont but, *faute de mieux*, the best bread and butter story I can offer you. I have scarcely recovered from an attack of dysentery which almost made an end of me. But I will tell my tale briefly and clearly, in the style you like."

"After a successful voyage, I went, in the beginning of June to my accustomed asylum in the Nilgiris, to recruit and to prepare for an expedition northwards. This expedition I determined to initiate by a small experiment. Having insufficiently fitted myself out, I spent, from July 31st to August 13th, in pursuit (as you used to say) of cats and other harmless animals on the southern and eastern foot of the Nilgiris, going by Mettupalayam, Bawari, Hassanúr and back to 'Ooty' by Nágor, Gundlupet, Bándapúr and the Kalkatti Ghats. It was a most difficult undertaking, mostly through thick jungle, on bad roads, up hill and down. As a consequence, we had to endure many complications. Amongst others, I almost lost Hyder (his pony) in the Bhavani and various upsettings and breakdowns necessitated a night picnic. Finally, we all had fever. On August 13th, we came back to our green nest and the sum total seems delightful."

"When thoroughly rested, and when we had replaced or repaired the numerous losses and breakages of our equipage, we started off, in October, into the Mysore district where I rambled about for three months, hunting and archæologizing. As the first of these occupations has no interest for you, I spare you my adventures and in the second, you are so much wiser and better instructed than I, that I hardly know what to tell you. I will briefly enumerate the places I visited. From the town of Mysore, I went to Seringapatam, saw everything of interest and then plunged into the Bálrangan hills. On emerging, I visited Yelandur and made an interesting excursion to Talkad, Sivasamudram and the falls of the Kaveri; then to Nursipúr, where I camped for a week close to the river, in the shade of splendid tope of mango and pipál trees and in sight of four curious old pagodas and the picturesque chain of the Bálrangan hills. You can imagine how I plunged into Buddhist dreams. It was truly nirvana to sit alone in this place, charmed by the lulling tone of the *hookah* and letting pictures from the past glide before my mind. Do you remember our

"stolen smokes in the forbidden precincts of Wadham? I cannot but think of them and with this addition, 'Happy is he who, in repose and tranquillity and far from the machine of busy, money-hatching Europe, can rest on the banks of a great indian stream as I do and sink undisturbed into his own thoughts.'

"After this digression, your appreciative friendliness will let me omit further details of my journey. A long and troublesome march lies behind me—Sri Belgola, Halebid, Bailur, Chitaldrúg. It was on this journey that I fell ill under the most adverse circumstances. The attack was so violent that I have not yet recovered but I am slowly mending and although my enthusiasm has cooled a little, I may hope to take up my staff again as soon as I have gathered strength. Why not? We can die but once, and it is *kismet* where and when. Faithful friendship to the end!"

The Prince's diary contains other items of information about the two excursions sketched to Fergusson. The first was evidently mismanaged and, as he says, insufficiently equipped. The good fortune allotted to his fortnight's jaunt was exhausted by three incidents; his pony returned to camp when it was supposed to be lost; he killed a boa; and his crockery remained sound after his cart had turned upside down. On the other side of the account, the fates dealt out to him three broken shafts of a cart of the *genus bandy*; slow bullocks and belated suppers, hours of waiting for blacksmiths, a night in the open air and fever, a natural August *finale* for jaunts at the foot of hills. What is pleasant in the narrative of these familiar incidents is that the Prince took all in good humour. Even, when in Mysore, he was made by a false guide to traverse eighteen miles instead of eight, he says with La Rochefoucauld—"Toute chose a son bon côté," and, in this, he acquired a complete knowledge of the locality and drew near the point of life without anger. He was almost as ardent a sportsman as he was a traveller and book-lover and, spite of all drawbacks which deficient strength must have caused, he enjoyed his nomad life thoroughly. "Here, in India," he says, on the Mysore tour, "the mere consciousness of existence fills the soul with thankfulness."

Prince Friedrich spared his archæological friend the recital of his *shikar* adventures but one, at least, has some interest. He joined a Major Montgomery, in the Bálrangan hills and with him went out after elephants. They got within range of a tusker and from their two guns gave in succession, balls in the forehead, the temple and in the ear. The animal tottered and fell, rose and fell again and at length, with the aid of two females marched off. He was followed for three miles and then lost sight of. The Prince attributed the inefficiency of

the balls to the fact that the elephant's head was level with the gun sand to the angle therefore not being what it should. On December 15th, he was on his way, by palki, from Chitaldrúg to Ballári when he fell alarmingly ill with dysentery. There was no shade on the open *maidan* except that afforded by a bridge and in this the sick man was laid for some hours, until he could endure to be carried to the nearest bungalow, two miles away. Doctors came from Ballári and Chitaldrúg and both declared the danger imminent but the Prince rallied and by Christmas day was able to reach Ballári. Here he found the *dâk* bungalow occupied by two high and mighty Englishmen who were smoking their morning pipes in the verandah. They refused him admittance and must have been of the class of which Jacquemont spoke when he said, "J'exècre les Anglais de bas étage." The Prince lay in his palki while his servants went from house to house to find quarters for him. They presently returned with a letter of hospitable intent from General McCleod who took the sick man in and treated him as though he had been a home returned son. In Ballári, he lay for some weeks before he could attempt to move towards Madras, and it was not until February that he was able to reach Guindy. Here he was strongly advised to return at once to Europe but he signified to his doctors that life was only of value to him under certain conditions—presumably those of having seen what he wanted to see in India—and they permitted him to sail to Calcutta. On February 20th, he was in Calcutta and the guest of Lord and Lady Lawrence and from Government House wrote to Goldstücker that he hoped to start shortly for Kashmír, and to see with his own eyes the cities of his desire, Benares, Dilhí and Láhor. He adds, that he shall not die happy if he cannot accomplish this. Contrasting Calcutta and Madras, and remarking that there is more intellectual life in the former, he says: "Of course I mean in english society; from natives of the country one can always learn something."

He was, while in Calcutta, elected a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and also paid a visit to the Madrassah. On the 7th March, he set out for Benares, "well cared for in every respect and I shall in 28 hours, cover the 545 miles which the good Jacquemont boasted of accomplishing in six and a half weeks." Benares made on the traveller the vivid impression she cannot but make at the time of the *mela*. The river festivities were enjoyed under the escort of the Rájá's son and of the Maharája of Vizianagram and enchanted the Prince. He left the city with the remark that every good thing has an end and so must the *mela* and fantastic days in Benares.

Agra was his next halting place and here Akbar set his seal

on him. Through all his wanderings, there had ever run a fine thread of purpose and the time was now come when, by its guidance, he was led to the goal and object for which he had so long waited. His mind had been prepared to receive clear and deep impressions from whatever memorials of Akbar he might see and now, when he was exposed to the living influence of the giant architectural creations of the Mughuls, clear vision was vouchsafed and he saw his way. Hitherto, his regret at the vagueness of his aims had been constant and his intention to work on some one indian subject equally permanent. Under the impact of impressions given by Agra and later on by Dilhí, his fluid desire crystallized into resolve to set before Germany the character and acts of the Emperor whose personality had become so attractive to himself.

Prince Friedrich pilgrimaged to Sikandrah and laid roses, his tribute of remembrance, on Akbar's grave. He was smitten with wonder at the grandeur of the mausoleum and, because like all works of genius, it touches the imagination at points outside its destined purpose, he saw in it an apt symbol of the life of the ruler in whose honour it lifts its magnificence to heaven. It may have spoken also to him, as to others, of something wider even than the full tide of Akbar's career, for it is eloquent of broad and unchambered life, the immortal and jubilant force which makes for change and beauty and uplifts man's spirit in triumphant sense of persistence and invincibility. The assertive fact of individual death has here its counterpart—in the grim vault which contains the dust of Akbar—but the fact of infinitely greater magnitude—that life is undecaying—is imaged in every portion of the sun-bathed structure. When one has climbed the terraces and sits in the sieved shadow of the fretted cloister, fancy kindles to a rejoicing vision of bounteous and genial life. Even the *memento* uttered by the brodered semblance of Akbar's tomb, speaks of repose and not of decay or rupture. Sikandrah is fruitful in suggestion and amongst many-hued thoughts of her occult summoning, reminds us that it was not England, and not Europe only which paced through spacious times, in that summer of the centuries which saw the great Elizabeth, but that India also, flushed with bloom of quickened life, under the sway of Akbar.

Sikandrah then, working with other scenes, wrought on Prince Friedrich with wholesome charm and fixed his thoughts on Akbar as the object of his future energies. It was at Dilhí that he first made known his intention and this, to his friend Goldstücker, to whom he wrote with the modesty natural to his character and natural in presence of a man of great attainments in the sphere in which he was himself a tyro. He tells

his friend and adviser that, when he was in Calcutta and sat in the Madrassah with Blochmann and listened to even the sober philologist's talk about Akbar, he had felt, as Goethe puts it, that our best part in history is the enthusiasm she kindles. He goes on to enumerate the influences which had turned his thoughts to Akbar—the traces of his activity and work in Northern India; the yet living traditions of his warlike deeds and the wise and just administration with which he had blessed his realm. He asks his monitor whether his idea of writing the life of his hero would not deliver his thoughts from chaos and give his spirit repose and governance. It is much to be regretted that Goldstücker's letters in answer to the warmly and humbly worded prayers for guidance, preferred on more than one occasion by the Prince, are not before us. The friendship which subsisted between the two men must have gained double interest by hearing the other person of the drama. We may, however, infer that Goldstücker encouraged the Prince's project, for his disapproval would have quenched it. Prince Friedrich's diary, as published in the *Nachlass* (Remains) gives few details as to the impressions he gained at Dilhí, but the resolution he there arrived at, as to his future occupation, was of weight sufficient to mark the great city of the eastern Dead for ever, in his memory, as the place where he touch the goal of his search. It was in April that he left Dilhí and proceeded on his further way towards Kashmír as far as Láhor. On the way thither he realized another of his desires, for he saw the snows of the Himálayas, "like a miracle" in which I could scarce believe but which yet was genuine."

The rest of the year 1868 was spent in Kashmír, and for the most part, with restoration of health in view. His first impressions, even of the scenery, were a disappointment. This last disillusion was the fault of his own false ideal, for later on, the true beauty of the land held him in happy thrall. His other source of disappointment was not so readily removable, for he had expected congruity between nature's charms and man's action. The whole country had occupied a glorified niche in his fancy and he had, moreover, found the Rájá a most courteous gentleman and all Kashmírís friendly and helpful. Keen therefore, was the disgust with which he saw the evils which pressed on the population. It is not without satisfaction that an Englishman reads the german Prince's opinion, that ten years of administration, such as the Panjáb enjoyed, would set Kashmír to rights. Most of the Prince's stay in the country was devoted to travel in the mountains, where he had some sport and was, he says, idle. He improved somewhat in health but would seem to have subjected himself here, as in Southern India, to over fatigue and to climatic dangers. In November, he paid the price—an

illness of so serious a nature that he did not even know how his way was made from Baramula onwards to Muriil Pahar (?), a civilized spot where he was quartered in the club house and had the services of a doctor.

By December 2nd, he had been able to reach Atak, whence he went on to Láhör. Here he was advised that it would imperil his life if he remained in India during another hot season, and at this second warning, he decided not again to tempt *kismet*, but to return home. He accordingly left India for ever, in April 1869, and took a route to Europe which led him through the cities of his earlier love, Smyrna and Damascus. He visited also Beyrut, where his father had died. He then travelled northwards, and finally came to rest at Noer which, he thenceforth made his residence and where, as his first guest, he entertained his friend, monitor and teacher, Goldstücker.

The next marked step in his career was his marriage. He had long before said that he could not live alone at Noer and he fulfilled his prediction with little delay. In this matter, as in others, he broke from the traditions of his order. The exclusiveness of german aristocratical theory in questions matrimonial, is proverbial and the Prince's announcement that he intended to desert the sanctuary of propriety and marry a commoner, might well have been the last straw on the family camel which he had already overloaded with his literary impedimenta. When he communicated his intentions of marriage to Queen Caroline Amélie and asked her good wishes, he, at the same time, informed her of another step which he had taken and which was of the greatest moment to the future fortunes of his family. He had been to Berlin, had seen the King and had, from him, received the title of Count of Noer. It would seem that this was not the first recent change of title in the family, for Prince Emile had, in 1864, effected or been made to effect the change from Prince of Schleswig-Holstein to that of Prince of Noer. Whether this was done for political reasons or in connection with his re-marriage (which took place a month after the grant of the new title by the then temporary suzerain of Holstein, the Emperor of Austria) we are not in a position to say. Prince Friedrich's motives for abdicating his higher rank are, however, beyond doubt for he gives them to Queen Caroline, on the 14th April 1870, with the announcement of his betrothal. He says that his change of title not only sets him free from the troubles of politics but enables him to marry according to his inclinations. One is naturally diffident before the involutions of high alliances, but so much is clear, that he preferred to sacrifice his princely rank and title, rather than subject the lady of his choice to the ignominy of a morganatic marriage. Political complications were obviated by his surrender of title, as it presumably carried

with its renouncement of his contingent claims to supremacy in Schleswig-Holstein. It may here be said that the ban of his exclusion from Denmark was not removed until 1881, in which year he visited his Danish kinsfolk, a renewal of relations which gave him indescribable delight. "Dulcis reminiscitur Argos" his diary adds.

The seventeenth of May 1870, initiated what has been called by one of the Prince's acquaintances, a ten year's idyll at Noer and was the day of his marriage with Carmen, daughter of Mr. Eisenblatt, a merchant of La Guayra, in Vénézuëla and of Hamburg. Home and home happiness now filled his thoughts and ancient desires slumbered. For five peaceful years, he had respite from the scourgings of the Indian Eumenides. Not that his orientalism was dead; it was but repressed by the imperious barrier of his happiness and it was not until 1875 that, at the instigation of his wife, he put pen to paper and began the history of Akbar's reign.

"Here is the house of fulfilment of craving:

"Here is the cup with the roses around it;

"The World's wound well healed and the balm that hath bound it!"

The draft of the first chapter of *Kaiser Akbar* was dictated to the Countess von Noer on March 15th, 1875. Thenceforward the Count worked steadily, laying aside his pen only in sickness and at length, at the bidding of the king, whom all obey. Early in the course of his task, he made a reflection which comes home to all who have entered the penetralia of literature. He learned, he says, that not men and nations only, but every piece of human intellectual work has its history. To those who know, it is easy to fill up this outline of thought. How many a book which now falls as dull and lifeless as chilled iron, would glow again, if one could see the elemental impulses which went to its creation and watch the fire which burned to its fashioning. For six and a half years the Count laboured at his "Emperor Akbar," the time being broken by an occasional flight from Noer, sometimes for pleasure, sometimes for health and sometimes for purposes connected with his work. He was well aware that the shadows of his evening were closing around him, for, at the end of 1880, when the first part of the first volume had just been published, he wrote to Dr. George Hoffmann of Kiel—a friend of whom he said that he had stood bravely by him, with help and counsel—and told him, that the second part must be finished within a year or he himself would not be able to complete it. His anticipations were realized. The second part of the first volume was published late in 1881 and on Christmas Day the man of many journeys set out for his last and unknown bourn.

The immediate cause of the Count von Noer's death was an affection of the heart and his last hours were racked with pain. He could not lie down but, within an hour of his departure, his long dominant passion asserted itself and he ordered his bed turned, so that he should face the east. He then had himself placed upon it, with the remark, that this would be his death-bed and that it was right at least for the last hours, to lie properly down. He did so and shortly afterwards said distinctly: 'How beautiful,' and passed away.

Of him too might. Tennyson have said ;

"All things I have enjoyed
"Greatly ; have suffered greatly ; both with those
"That loved me and alone."
"Much have I seen and known ; cities of men,
"And manners, councils, climates, governments,
"Myself not least, but honoured of them all."

In accordance with arrangements which he had detailed to those who would care for his burial, a mausoleum was erected within sight of the house at Noer and in this his body was placed, enclosed in a sarcophagus. Every thing that thoughtful sympathy could do to orientalize the spot, has been done. The path which leads from the rose garden to the rising ground of which the mausoleum in the crown, is thickly bordered with cypresses, the moslim tree of mourning. The building is itself shrouded by the same sad hued, but aspiring emblems and is of eastern design. The sarcophagus rests on a dais which is spread with moslim prayer-carpets, brought for this purpose from India herself.

It is in the library of a servant of literature that the mournfulness of a purpose riven by death, is most felt. Prince Friedrich had been filled with a presentiment of the brevity of his day and it is in presence of his books that one's heart answers most readily to the pang which must have pierced his, when he knew that he must leave his work incomplete. These mutely eloquent friends are, for the most part, books of which India is the vital spark, they were gathered by his needs, and handled in his work and they dignify the room which his mother's memory consecrated in his regard. On his death-bed, he expressed his sorrow at his enforced desertion of his task and, spite of an assurance that it should be carried on, he must have felt, what he said of Goldstücker, that he was leaving an infant child to the doubtful usage of the world. He was 51 years of age when he died and the last decade of his life had rounded almost to the calm and tranquillity of his childish years at Noer, a manhood of change and deprivation and exile.

Count Friedrich left two daughters. Had he left a son, it is possible that his widow might have been spared the many months

of anxiety which have attended the decision of a law-suit which Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein has instituted with the aim of obtaining possession of Noer. The *crux* of the suit is said to be, whether the king of Denmark had the right to cut off the entail of Noer as was done at the instigation of Prince Friedrich who was desirous of securing the reversion of the estate to his wife and children. The case was heard in the lower court of Schleswig at the end of 1885, and was decided on all points in favour of the Countess von Noer. There were, however, difficult questions of royal prerogative involved and an appeal has been allowed. The special hardship of the case, in the eyes of friends of the Countess is, that her husband made every effort to ensure that his children should inherit. Noer is not an old possession of the Schleswig-Holstein family but was brought in by the mother of Prince Emile, who left it to him, her second son and from him it passed on to Prince Friedrich. There is, therefore, something repugnant to good feeling in the attempt of another member of the house to take the estate from the branch to which it had been given by the lady who brought it into the Schleswig-Holstein family. No one can suppose that she would have wished to impoverish the descendants of the son to whom she gave it.

We have now to turn from Prince Friedrich to his writings. His earliest published work is *Altes und Neues aus den Ländern des Ostens* (Things New and Old from Eastern Lands), and consists of three thin octavo volumes, the first of which deals with India, the others with Egypt and Asia Minor. The primary materials for the work were gathered by the Prince then a boy of nineteen, during his travels in 1849-50. In 1854, he began to work upon this basis and published the completed book in 1858. As has been mentioned, it was given to the world under the pseudonym of Onomander. It is much more than a record of travel, for not only has this been matured by revision and addition but in each volume there are chapters which deal for the most part with politics or history and which are the result of later study. Thus, in the Indian volume, there are two such, entitled respectively, "India in general" and "the Revolt in Bengal." These chapters open with some general remarks: "Hindústán," says the author, "would be unique if it had not its counterpart in Spain." It is not only in their physical positions that a resemblance is noted but still more in the characteristics and circumstances of the inhabitants, and notably in their common possession of individual courage and fighting power, but also in their common lack of the qualities which make the General. Unfortunately for the complete justice of the novel comparison, the Prince has massed the peoples of India, and his

imagined "Indian" is a Sikh or a Rájput. Passing on, we find a sketch of the various conquests and occupations of the country from the time of Alexander to those of Clive and Hastings. To read our own affairs by a foreign light, is always a means of rekindling our interest in them and of illuminating corners which have escaped our vision. This interest attaches to Prince Friedrich's attempt to set before German readers the story of the British occupation of India. His work is the outcome of a very considerable amount of reading and although its material is familiar, it has the freshness of foreign representation. Following the historical survey, is an examination of the causes which evoked the Mutiny. It is not without a pleasant touch of novelty that one finds the Prince quoting Disraeli's speeches in the House, as evidence for several of his statements. He is strong in his blame of the supineness of the Indian Government in face of repeated warnings of the approaching storm. Amongst other such warnings which he enumerates, is one, about which, on perusing it in a foreign tongue, one cannot stifle the wish that it had been kept, like a family failing, for home criticism only. He tells us that, just after the annexation of Audh, more than 40,000 Sipahis petitioned for a restoration of the former state of things and asked why they and their king had been reduced from independence. These petitions, *not being on stamped paper*, were disregarded.

As has been said, Prince Friedrich's stay in Bengal in 1849, was limited to some three weeks and his sight-seeing to the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta. He paid a visit to Chandarnagar and was there the guest of M. Courjon. He gives a short sketch of the life of this noticeable man and tells us that M. Courjon was of French origin, born in the Mauritius and that his parents, though of good descent, being without fortune, he came to India to make his own. From the Rájás of Tipperah he received land on favourable conditions and set about the cultivation of rice and indigo. He prospered exceedingly and acquired such influence in Tipperah, that the British Government on several occasions employed him as its intermediary between themselves and the Rájás. Prince Friedrich praises the admirable demeanour of M. Courjon and was unaffectedly attracted by the wealth of his conversation and by his amiable willingness to tell what he knew. On leaving Chandarnagar, the avid listener recalled Madame de Stael's dictum, that sometimes, the remembrance of a man with whom one has spent only a few minutes, is more permanent and pleasant than the memory of one, with whom fate has compelled us to live for ten years.

Perhaps the most interesting passage in the record of the Prince's sojourn in Bengal is that in which he describes an

interview at Fort William, with the then state-prisoner Mulráj. He was himself a political exile and although he tries to hold the balance fair, it is pretty clear that he did not regard Mulráj as a malefactor but rather as the victim of british political necessities. Here, as elsewhere in his narrative, one may hear the echo of the opinions of those that bear rule.

"Some of the houses in the Fort have been arranged for the reception of state prisoners and at this time the former ruler of Multán was amongst them. The fate of this man, who, but a short time before, had attracted so much attention in the indian world, is not in itself devoid of interest but what increased our own in him, was that we were allowed to visit him. On this occasion, the Commandant of the Fort, one of our most agreeable and courteous Calcutta acquaintances, was so kind as to accompany us and to act as interpreter. Amír (*sic*) Mulráj has had many accusers but also some defenders: some regard him as a daring malefactor, while others pity him as a political victim and take his character under protection. According to the most impartial and trustworthy of the authorities at our disposal, the facts of his affairs are as follows:—The ancient fort of Multán lies to the north of Sindh and between the Indus and the Sutlej. It once belonged to the dominions of Ranjit Singh but after their partition, became a small independent state at the court of which the English, according to their custom, had two political agents. The Afghán war, the conquest of Sindh, as well as the stubborn conflict in the Punjáb, had excited to the highest degree, the hatred of the Multánis for the foreigners whose growing power was a threat to their independence. In a tumult in the city of Multán, the two agents fell victims to the outburst of anger on the part of the inflammable and warlike Multánis, who had from the first regarded their presence with distrust and ill-will. They were killed in the street and as some of their servants averred, on their way to the citadel, to seek the protection of the Amír. It has never been possible to clear up all the circumstances of the sad occurrence. On one side, the whole blame is laid on Mulráj who is declared to have instigated the tumult for the purpose of ridding himself of the two officers; on the other, no credence is given to the accusation. Be this as it may, the british Government naturally demanded satisfaction for an atrocity, committed, apparently, at the Amír's instigation. Mulráj insisted that he had no part in it and was, therefore, not in a position to discover the murderers for punishment at his own hands or for surrender to the English. He had more fear of his own rebellious subjects than of any possible consequences of the anger of his powerful neighbours, who at the time, were busied with war in the Punjáb. Soon, however, an army was on the march, Multán was besieged and after a brave

"resistance, surrendered to evade the horrors of a final storming.
"(January 2nd, 1849.) Mulráj was sent to the recently-captured
"Láhor and there tried like a common criminal and sentenced
"to death by hanging. This sentence was, by an act of clemency,
"commuted to imprisonment for life in Fort William."

"The deposed Amír is distinguished no less by his noble pre-
"sence than by his agreeable manners. He may be between
"forty and fifty years of age. (This is written of 1849). He
"has the marks of a man of high caste together with characteris-
"tics of his afghan origin. He is tall and slender and his features
"are well cut and regular; his complexion which is almost
"fair as that of a well-born Turk, forms a picturesque contrast to
"his curly black beard. The fire of his dark eye is dimmed by
"trouble—dimmed, but not quenched, and his demeanour betrays
"the proud indifference and calm surrender to unalterable fate
"which a high-born oriental never loses. He is separated from
"his family who are held prisoners at Láhor. One only of his
"former friends has remained true to him and has voluntarily
"followed him here, to share his captivity. It was touching to
"see that this man, himself a man of birth and fine presence, did
"not disdain to join the duties of a menial servant to those of
"a trusted friend. Mulráj was manifestly pleased that our visit
"should break in on his monotony and this removed all our
"apprehensions about disturbing him. The Amír could as little
"renounce his natural pride as can the caged lion. When the
"heavy bolts were withdrawn and we entered his room, he re-
"ceived us with a grave dignity which bordered on condescen-
"sion. The English comport themselves towards their
"fallen foe with the most respectful consideration allowed by
"the circumstances and it gave us sincere pleasure to notice, that
"Colonel W. did not seat himself until his prisoner had
"made a slight gesture of permission. The Amír opened the
"conversation, and with delicate amenity and skilful lightness, led
"it over a variety of subjects which would have done credit to a
"european man of the world. As a matter of course, we avoided
"touching upon his own situation but material for conversation
"did not fail, for Mulráj has had, for his position, a comprehensive
"and thorough education. He has the reputation of great learn-
"ing, reads and writes Hindústání, Arabic and Persian, and would
"seem to be well versed in the literature of the last named lan-
"guage. Through the arabic historians he appears to have some
"acquaintance with ancient greek philosophy and (so far as we
"could understand,) expressed himself at length concerning
"Aflatoune, Aristoune and Bahádur Secunder Saheb. (Plato,
"Aristotle, and Alexander.) He was pleased by our interest
"in his conversation, as well as by the good will we showed in
"trying to make him understand us, and the visit only came to

"an end when our obliging friend, the Commandant, had exhausted his store of Hindústání-Persian. At first Mulráj was somewhat reserved but grew more and more talkative and, amongst other things, told us that he was occupying himself with his biography and the history of Multán. He showed us, not without visible satisfaction, some very beautiful Persian Mss., a part of his work. At the end of our visit, he accompanied us to the door, where he dismissed us with the same dignified demeanour with which he had received us. The whole reception was more like the durbar of a reigning prince than a stranger's visit of curiosity."

The second volume of *Altes und Neues* treats, for the most part, of the Prince's impressions of Cairo and the Pyramids. It contains also three political chapters on Syria and on the dissensions between the Porte and the Pasha. Like all the writings of Prince Friedrich, it bears the stamp of first hand information and personal experience. He is indignantly sarcastic on those who penetrate a foreign country only so far as to see it through the eyes of domiciled foreigners, and tells a story of a member of an Asiatic Society (he is thus indefinite), who set out to travel in the East for the purpose of collecting material for a book. He reached Constantinople and there, on the landing stage, had the misfortune to break his leg. This confined him to an hotel in the frank quarter of Pera whence on his recovery he set out for home direct, wrote his book and gave it to the world with the colour of having eye-witnessed all he wrote of.

Egypt filled the prince with delight and he could reconcile himself to his departure only by dwelling on the thought that he was going from her to the classic lands of Asia Minor. He sailed from Alexandria for Smyrna and his voyage carried him through a maze of islands, whose names alone are a spell to conjure thoughts of beauty and art and heroic song. Would it be possible for familiarity to smirch the bloom of Creta and Naxos, of Samos and Khios? One may hope not, for even its many prosaic and ignoble uses have not frittered from India all its power of charming connotation. As has been said, Prince Friedrich found Smyrna surpassingly beautiful and chimes in with Strabo's praise of it as the most lovely of cities. From it, as his head-quarters, he and a few fellow-travellers from India—*reliquae Danaûm*—dared the choice of ransom or death and made an agreeable expedition to Nimphi. Subsequently, when even the last of his comrades had been drawn by some stronger attraction to his fatherland, the Prince went alone to Ephesus and of this city of manifold associations, he has left a full and interesting account. Returning to Smyrna, he devoted a brief space to the sweetest *far niente* and assures his readers that the man who

does this is by no means idle because he is receiving impressions and making observations and being moved to reflect. In fact, the Prince was realizing what is the germ of fruitful travel—that one should go forth not to see, but to be shewn sights, not like a person to whose good vision all things will be clear, but in the spirit of one who waits for a revelation.

In the place of his present sojourn, it was natural that the traveller should have Homer open in his hands and his pages show, by many a quotation done into full-mouthed German that poetry lent her aid to add to the other charms of his journey. At this stage of his book, as easily as at any other, one may, by reference to his sources, seek proof of his industry in working up his matter. His notes show abundant research: to such masters of the ringing change of words as Aeschylus and Ovid and Virgil; to Herodotus and Pliny are added Boileau and Pope, Gibbon and Gervinus, Hamilton and Schubert, and many another name of men whose words can guide or support opinion. The third volume of *Altes und Neues* concludes with an account of a most recompensing, if equally fatiguing, ride from Smyrna to a point on the Bosphorus opposite Constantinople. With briefest mention of this we leave the book which introduced our author into that realm of literary labour, of which he had dreamed, that no greater felicity lured the sons of men, than to dwell within its chequered shades.

Between 1858 and 1880, Prince Friedrich published no book, but some articles of which we are not able, in India, to verify the dates probably belong to the interval. These were contributions to the Kiel Journal and to english periodicals and in addition, were several obituary notices, amongst which was one published in the *Times* in November 1876 and commemorating the life of Count von Prokesch-Osten. In 1880-81, he published the result of five years of work in the first volume of *Kaiser Akbar*. Before further notice of this book, it will be of interest to form some estimate of the qualifications which its author brought to the accomplishment of his self-selected task. These it is easy to underrate, in face of his self-depreciation in presence of scholars such as Blochmann and Goldstücker, as well as before his own ideal of the perfected product of systematic education. Of certain natural qualifications for literary work. Prince Friedrich had full measure: he was industrious and spared no pains; he was patient and had the humility which promotes caution and he had that capacity for enthusiasm which is the vital spark of all work. His general culture was very considerable; he was free of french and english literature as fully as of his own; he could read Latin and Greek with pleasure; he had studied Sanskrit

under Goldstücker for several years—subject and teacher in themselves a constellation of educative forces—and he had in addition, the ductile mind of the travelled man.

It is undeniable that the first requisite for a scholarly handling of the material existing for a biography of Akbar is a knowledge of Persian sufficient to the collation of the Akbar-namáh, the *Tárikh-i-Badâoní* and the *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí*. Such critical skill the Prince never attained, and he tells us in his preface that he had to base his work upon translations. He, however, never proposed to himself to treat his subject in anything but such fashion as would make it acceptable to the ordinary reading world and for this, his available material was ample. He was not without knowledge of Persian, even at the commencement of his work and in 1876, he spent a winter in Paris for the purpose of increasing his acquaintance with it. He was, nevertheless, even to the last, put to inconvenience by want of facility in comparing discrepant statements in his english sources. Of these his main reliance was upon Sir Henry Elliot and Professor Dowson's "History of India as told by its own historians." Another translation of the utmost value, was that in manuscript, of the Akbarnamáh, by Lieutenant Chalmers and in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society. A mine of incalculable wealth to him was Blochmann's* *Ain-i-Akbarí*, with its biographical notices and its extracts from the *Tárikh-i-Badâoní*. The field for european research was wide and the Prince spared neither time nor labour nor travel to reap from it. Of this, the mere consideration of the books to which he refers in the course of his volume, is evidence.

Turning now to the work itself, we find that it opens with a general introductory section concerning India and the history of the Timurids, leading down to Akbar himself. The second section deals with Akbar from his birth till the time of his independence that is, to the end of the twelfth year of the reign and the close of the rebellion of the uzbek chiefs in

* This book may be cited in support of the definition of genius, as an infinite capacity for taking pains and it is one of those which all who have occasion to work from it, must respect and admire. It suggests a fertile field for such *littérateurs* as have Persian well at command. Blochmann's biographical outlines (taken for the most part from the *Maasir-ul-Umara*) could certainly, in some cases, be filled up from family records and Akbar's stage be peopled with figures as life-like as those which move round Elizabeth.

To one who, without any knowledge of Persian, has followed the Prince over his ground for the purpose of rendering his book into English, his difficulties seem at times to have been great and sometimes to have arisen from causes which would be avoidable if the translations from the Persian had been subjected to the scrutiny of a revisional committee.

Jaunpúr. It contains also a review of the intellectual development of Akbar and of his forbears. The third section is headed, "Akbar extends his kingdom and confirms his government." This treats of his relations in battle and marriage with the Rájputés of Gujrat and of the struggle with the Afgháns of Bengal. It has also two chapters of high value one on the Administration and one on the downfall of the 'ulamás, the last including a most interesting account of Akbar's religious ideas and of the visits of the Goa Fathers to his court. The second volume takes up, in the fourth section, the rebellion in Bengal of the chagatái chiefs; the revolt of Muhammad Hakím in Kábul and the affairs of Gujrát, Kashmír and Afghánistán. It gives also an account of the Rausháni sect and concludes with details about Akbar's court and his domestic life. The fifth section narrates the conquest of the Dakh'in and the lamentable story of Salím's revolt and closes Akbar's career.

This first volume was finished with great difficulty and amid presentiments of death which find utterance in its preface. Here, too, speaks the affection for his subject which had grown up in the Count in years of "intimate communion" within "four narrow walls," and which must have sharpened regret at his inability to illustrate the remaining scenes of his hero's career. To his book on sending it forth, he says: "The wide world "is rough with crags and tempestuous with storms; if it should "not fare with thee as we desire, bear thy destiny with patience "and should any censure thee unmercifully, counsel them rather "to bend their powers to excel thee; so will thy path although "not thornless yet lead thee to thy goal." Within a few weeks of the Count's death, in 1881, his manuscript had been entrusted to Dr. Gustav von Buchwald for revision and edition. The second and completing volume appeared in 1885. As was perhaps inevitable, it bears the marks of change in the directing mind. One distinct alteration of plan is made by the substitution of voluminous quotation for the author's more laborious practice of assimilating his material into an independent creation. Dr. von Buchwald's method has advantages in face of the great difficulties which accrue to the finisher of another man's work but it makes some break of continuity in the book. One set of his quotations is however of interest, namely, that from Chalmers' somewhat inaccessible manuscript.

Akbar's life as set forth by his german commentator, reiterates the fact that he was a foreigner in India and that his rule was a military occupation. No drop of blood of any race within the Khaibar flowed in his veins and the armies by which he held his dominions were for the most part the levies of men who had followed his father from beyond the frontier

of Hindústán. Like himself, these settled in the country and in the earlier days of the occupation, brought in their families. After the adhesion of the house of Ambar (Jaipur) he had rájpút troops in his service but his main reliance was always on men of ultra-himálayan birth or descent.

It is so common to hear Akbar held up as a ruler of whom India may boast, because he was her own, that an Englishwoman takes a peculiar pleasure in repeating the fact of his alien birth. Not indeed because it is agreeable to go out of the way to tell again the less grateful facts of history, but because seeing this error, she has the hope that some hundreds of years hence, some of the men of her own blood whom only the brief tenure of their office has, she believes, thwarted from making a reputation as great and as well-deserved as Akbar's, may be so blended into India's story, that they, too, shall be claimed as rulers of whom the whole land may boast, notwithstanding that they are as alien in blood as was the mighty Emperor whose sway they now inherit.

By perusal of *Kaiser Akbar* an old fact concerning Bengal, and one which is not without eloquence to every *laudator temporis acti*, gains new prominence,—that its people have had scant part in its history, that is the tale of its rulers and their wars and their glory. It was not from Bengalís that Akbar took Bengal, but from the afghán rulers who had held it for their own profit for more than four hundred years. No name of any Bengalí comes for mention in the Count's book as that of a Hindú who rose to power. The Hindús of great name whose services reflected glory on Akbar, were all distinguished as soldiers, before they were known for any other merit. Tódar Mall, a khetri of Láharpúr, in Audh, was a general before he was a Díwán and the other renowned Hindús of the reign were almost without exception hard fighting Rájpúts. Bengal in those days had no voice; its people were there, peaceful yielders of revenue; so, too, was the treasure chest, and then, as it had been for many a by-gone century, the history of the province was a record of the struggles for the key.

Of Akbar's talent as a controller of men, and of his surpassing interest as a man of active and unusual type of mind, we learn much that is unfamiliar from the Count von Noer book. His representation, moreover, presses it home that, spite of his intellectual proclivities and desire to deal justice, Akbar was not the ruler of a summer's day but a man of strenuous action and withal a strong and stout annexationist before whose sun the modest star of Lord Dalhousie pales. He believed, probably without any obtrusion of a doubt as to his course, that the extension and consolidation of territory was a thing worth fighting for; he believed in supremacy as in itself, a desirable

object and, having men and money, he went to work and took tract after tract without scruple. His position, being as he was the builder of an empire, is comprehensible, and it is indisputable that his fame as a ruler is in no small degree due to the circumstance that, having men of diverse nationalities to manage, he compassed the task; a success which could not have been his, if he had not been given to conquest. He was not like Victoria, born heir to this briarean labour, but he brought it on himself by being what he was or nothing—a thorough and self-seeking annexationist.

In him there was fully developed, moreover, another form of imperial annexation,—that which absorbs enormous sums of money for the sovereign's personal use. Perhaps in no way is the progress of ideas about the claims of the holder of a kingly office on his people more marked, than by a consideration of the respective consumption of revenue on personal objects, under the Emperor of Hindústán of the 16th century and the Empress of the 19th. Akbar annually took from the service of the people, vast sums of money for the maintenance of his own and his sons' establishments. These establishments were not like the modest households of our Viceroy or even of the Queen-Empress herself but contained regiments of servants and armies of elephants, horses, &c., &c. Akbar's seraglio alone numbered 3000 women, each of whom had a fixed salary and definite perquisites. One needs no figures to assure one that the commissariat obligations only, of these domestic hordes would now prove, what Abul Fazl says the ordering of a harem was, a "question vexatious for even a great statesman." On the other hand, it is one of the remarkable features of the present occupation of India, that its Empress takes no single rupee from it for the maintenance of her State.

In at least one particular, the reigns of India's most potent rulers are alike. Akbar, as does Victoria, administered his empire by means of foreign officials and like her, held it by a foreign army. Akbar's officials of cis-himálayan birth who were distinguished for other than martial talent, were singularly few. Todar Mall, Bír Bal, and though *impari passu* Rái Patr Dás completing their list. In one particular the administration of Akbar was distinctly inferior to that of Victoria; it was tainted by the corruption which makes an office lucrative beyond the range of its nominal salary. Akbar's lieutenants ruled like kings in state and luxury and for the greater part of his reign, as was natural when the strong arm yielded the one essential service he required from his chiefs, their doings were practically unchecked. Todar Mall at length, attempted some restraint, but he does not come into prominence as even a soldier till the 18th year of Akbar's reign and although employed for a short

time in revenue matter in that year and in the 19th, he did not as Dīwan institute his memorable financial reforms till the 27th. Meantime the pagoda tree flourished and bore fruit.

Undoubtedly Akbar's greatest power of attraction for us lies in his many-sidedness. He was an all-round man and the pages which concern him offer at every turn fresh matter for interested perusal. Everything was food for his activities, and his career was an unbroken development of character. In youth, he was a dashing and impetuous soldier and together with physical vigour, had a capacity for intellectual occupation which time fostered to be the assuagement of his failing strength. The Count delights to dwell upon that side of the Emperor's character which prompted just dealing and no less, on that which was its complement, his intellectual interest in varieties of custom and creed. Probably the very tolerance for which he is renowned, was less the outcome of conquered prejudice than of this openness of mind to novelty. Tolerant he was, but by no means so much so as is the British Rāj, which sits apart from all the burning topics in which Akbar delighted. He rejoiced in polemical discussion and there is in his career nothing more interesting than his Thursday convocations of professors of all the creeds, in the 'Ibādāt Khānah, at Fathpūr Sīkrī. His tolerance was, it must be admitted, more at the service of the latitudinarians than of the orthodox of the muhammadan faith who were regarded with less favour than were even orthodox Hindūs. This was natural, for the Emperor's mind was seeking material for the institution of his own creed, the Dīn-i-ilāhī and he could get stimulus better from opinion in ferment than from rigid and definite creeds. Of all the many interesting passages of our author's work, none exceeds in attraction that which tells of the missions of the Jesuit Fathers from Goa to the Court of Akbar and the liking and respect which the doubting Emperor conceived for Father Aquaviva.

In concluding this notice of *Kaiser Akbar* it should be said that the book has two points of special value: it is the first life of Akbar published apart from such as are incorporated in general histories and it gathers together great store of information from books which are somewhat difficult of access.*

It now remains only to speak of the third and last of the works of which the names head this article and on which its biographical portion is based. Strictly it is not the production of the Count von Noer for it was edited and in part written

* *Kaiser Akbar* has been translated into French by M. G. Bonet de Maury and an English translation will shortly appear.

by others. It consists of sketches of various periods of his life from his own hand, extracts from his diary, and numerous letters from him to friends and relatives. To these have been added passages by other hands, as supplement to inevitable *lacunæ*. The book is edited by the lady to whom he dedicated the greatest effort of his life. On the opening page of *Kaiser Akbar* stands inscribed "With grateful affection, I dedicate this work to Carmen, Countess of Noer, my beloved wife and comrade." The volume of extracts (*Nachlass*) which does so much to show in their subject the bloom of the qualities which are the obligation of nobility, bears the dedication, "Consecrated, with grateful affection, to the memory of a noble man by Carmen, Countess of Noer." All can take the hint given by these epitomes of ruptured happiness, and need not be told that the volume under our notice is a labour of love. Its contents would awaken interest, even if the Count had left no other written word, because they delineate a man of sterling excellence and most winning character. They tell a tale of suffering and deprivation and so, too, of a just and upright spirit whom losses and loneliness did not sour but made tolerant and grateful for affection. Brave and gentle, he veiled courageous independence under a courteous and modest manner; he lived laborious days in pursuit of an idea and he bore a dole of pain with a patience, pluck and elasticity which command hearty admiration. All this and much more can be read in the *Remains*, which has the additional merit of simplicity and straightforward reliance on the penetrative power of an estimable and attractive character.

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

ART. VI.—SOME INDIAN DEMONS, AND SOME
OTHERS MET WITH BY THE WAY.

SOME old and old-fashioned English families—perhaps by way of accentuating their claims on antiquity—are careful to keep a ghost somewhere about the ancestral premises. Lineal descendants of forgotten Irish kings make it a point to cherish and keep alive somewhat more than the memory of their especial dynastic banshee. In Scotland, second-sighted Scotland, equivalent survivals abound. One of them is tolerably well known as “the mystery of Glamis,” a riddle, the true answer to which it is said, is never known to more than three living men: To wit, the Laird himself, his heir, and the factor to the estate. The guess at it which meets with most popular favour surmises that the Lady Glamis, who was burnt as a witch on the Castle Hill, Edinburgh, in 1537, had commerce with Satan, and that the offspring of that amour is living still, a demon chained up at Glamis Castle in a dungeon.

As a matter of tradition, Arthur, the Laureate’s “blameless king,” is more worshipfully regarded by English folk of the west country-side than St. George of Cappadocia, England’s titular Saint. And yet Arthur was demon-affiliated, so to speak, through his relationship to Morgan le Fay, if to no others. Merlin, his mentor, his mundane providence, was distinctly demon born, a being whose birth, in the old legendary lore, is traced to a Satanic conspiracy (happily rendered of no effect) to counteract the salutary results of Christian redemption.

The belief of inhabitants of the British Isles in stories of the sort we have been referring to, is however held shamefacedly for the most part. Certainly now-a-days, Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen, desirous of laying any claim at all to education, feel themselves in duty bound to pooh-pooh demons, ghosts, witches, and all of that ilk.

In the dreamy orient it is altogether different. The oriental who dared proclaim disbelief in an unseen world, would be deemed by his friends and the oriental world at large, a very foolish fellow; or else a man condemned by fate, whether for his own sins or the sins of his forefathers, to a very parlous state of mental and moral blindness. It is not uncommon in the Mofussil India of to-day for witches, when they have a grudge against any one, to prepare a puppet likeness of this person, and with due formula of cursing and incantation, to stick nails or pins into it until the person incanted on dies, probably by

virtue of means more criminal, more utilitarianly poisonous, than witchcraft ever could be. They behave to the full as witches used to behave in Europe some three hundred years ago, when King James the 6th of Scotland and 1st of England put forth his "Demonologie," being moved thereto by conscience "to resolve the doubting hearts of many, both that such assaults of Satan are most certainly practised, and that the instruments deserve most severely to be punished." They behave much as they did, we take it, when Sir Thomas Browne, author also of a *Treatise on Vulgar Errors*, be it remembered, published his *Religio Medici*; and wrote in it "for my part I have ever believed, and do now know, that there are witches. They that doubt of them do not only deny them, but spirits, and are obliquely and upon consequence, a sort not of infidels but atheists." Addison, Blackstone, "the judicious Hooker," Dr. Johnson, John Wesley, were all English worthies who believed in witchcraft. Addison wrote:—"When I hear the relations that are made from all parts of the world; not only from Norway and Lapland, the East and West Indies, but from every particular nation in Europe, I cannot forbear thinking there is such an intercourse and commerce with evil spirits as that which we express by the name of witchcraft." Wesley wrote:—"The sceptics well know, whether Christians know it or not, that the giving up witchcraft is in effect giving up the Bible."

The educated Hindustani of 1887 believes in demons and witchcraft just as devoutly as did King James, and Sir Thomas Browne, and John Wesley: and he is not at all ashamed of his belief. He knows well enough that demons no longer live in our midst, on this side of India, in the magnificence of a state of life, the memory of which is fossilized in such ruins as are to be found at Tribeni. He is aware that they are not now in possession of such temporal power as the remains of demon forts scattered all over Bengal, Behar, and Orissa are remembrancers of. He knows, too, that on the other side of India, they do not, in these latter days, build such architectural glories as at Mathurá, almost persuaded Mahmúd of Gazni to abrogate the fury of his iconoclasm. He is aware, too, that for less superior persons all over India, they have provided handsome legacy of traditions as to the days of their authority—traditions that have found foundation in the folklore of the people, as well as in the remains of Jinn cities that were, once upon a time, like King Arthur's Camelot

"built
To music, therefore never built at all,
And therefore built for ever."

* Spectator, 117.

All over * India, although they have fallen somewhat from an erewhile high estate, even as the Brahmins have, demons are still powers. Bengalis not only believe that Bengal was once upon a time partially inhabited by a race of Asurs, and wholly dependent upon them for mundane government†; but also that they themselves are at this present time living in the midst of a demon population. Granted that, at this present time, Asurs hold no reins of government; do not raise armies, or coin money at their mints, or collect land revenue; yet, notwithstanding their retirement from overt connection with public business, and in spite of the cloaks of invisibility they see fit to assume in the day time, Bengali men and women know quite well that demons are round about them always and everywhere; that earth and air and fire and water are full of the unseen supernatural as well as the easily descried naturalness. They know how English soldiers are diabolically possessed and protected. They are well assured that, without demon aid, Mr. Bradford Leslie would never have been able to span the Hughli with a bridge. In the day time they can always discern spiritual presences in their mind's eyes: in the night time, with their bodily eyes too, very often. A demon European loafer, minus a head, haunts the neighbourhood of the Sealdah Railway Station and the adjoining burial ground, and compels night overtaken wayfarers that way, to buy "Belitee daru" for him, for which he pays in advance. Not long ago a cooly he impressed for this service tried to cheat him out of his change; and the demon loafer promptly wrung his neck, and killed him. Not long ago, amongst the news items from different parts of the country retailed in the

* Sir Lepel Griffin, in his book, *The Rajas of the Punjab*, writes of the mountain range Goghar ka Dhar, in the Mandi State:—"This range has a reputation similar to that of the Brocken in the Hartz mountains on Walpurgis Night. On the 3rd September, the demons, witches, and magicians from the most distant parts of India, assemble here and hold their revels, during which time it is dangerous for men to cross the mountain. The spirits of the Kulu range are also said to wage war with those inhabiting the Goghar, and after a violent storm the peasants will show travellers the stones which have been hurled from range to range."

Sidh Sen, chief of Mandi, who was a hundred years old when he died in 1779, was a mighty wizard. Sir Lepel Griffin writes: "he had a little book, which like that of Michael Scott, contained charms and spells which demons were compelled to obey: when he placed it in his mouth, he was instantly transported whither he wished through the air."

† Tradition has it that one Sambar Asur, King of the Hughli, Bardwan, Jessor, and Nadiya districts was, in the neighbourhood of Kishnaghur, slain by Pradyumna, the son of Krishna; and thereafter buried in an immense pit; by way of raw material for the generation of local earthquakes it would appear.

columns of the Calcutta daily papers, I chanced on a paragraph setting forth how sundry Sunderbund folk, detected carrying on an illicit distillery, pleaded in excuse that the liquor they had been caught manufacturing was intended solely for the consumption of local demons, who preferred drams with a parochial flavour to excised importations from foreign parts. Only a day or two ago I overheard a little Anglo-Indian boy, fresh from his evening tale of prayer at his mother's knee—enquiring of his ayah as he was being put to bed: "*Khoda kya khata hai, Ayah? Khoda, admi ko khata hai?*"

Now I have not the slightest reason to suppose, that, in the course of her religious instructions to this little boy, his mother ever, at any time, had the slightest notion of putting into his mind conception of an anthropophagous demon deity. But there it was. I have heard another child, a "spoilt" child, suggest that under given circumstances he would get mamma to put God in the corner; and I have heard him make the same suggestion to a bearer threatening him with the visitations of a *bui*. Following a similar train of thought the untutored savage beats his fetisch on occasion. It seems to me, by the way, that the lessons a good many English children get taught about God are too often so worded and so inculcated, that the child's conception of the deity whose worship is enjoined, becomes, in effect, conception of what most moderns mean when they speak of a demon.

It is plain enough that, in the childhood of the world, amongst the teachers of infantile mankind, the distinction between gods and demons was very indefinite, very elastic. Archæologists differ to this day as to who were gods and who demons in that old world cradle of supernaturalism, of which the land of Egypt was centre. One finds the names Deva and Asur interchangeable in some of the Vedas. The Asurs of the Indian story of creation took part in the archaic ocean churning, and helped to bring forth *Amrita*, the water of life. They must have been—it has been suggested—the special authors of such pleasant irrelevancies to the churning, as the moon with glad countenance, the goddesses of good luck and wine, and the tree of plenty.

In the legendary wars between Devas and Asurs, the Devas did not always get the best of the fighting: indeed, the practical upshot of the fighting seems to have been the discomfiture of Indra, and the Devas recognizing his authority, enrolled under his banner,—and their consequent emigration from contested Central Asian tablelands to India.

In the Zend legend, victory seems to be pretty equally balanced between gods and demons. In Hellenic tradition one finds Ge, the mother of the Titans, priding herself on being

better born than Zeus, and her quasi demon children pitting themselves in fight against Olympian Gods : pitting themselves in vain as it happened eventually ; but Olympus had to put forth all its energies to repel them : Gods and Titans contended on quite equal terms.

Nile slime has been a fecund generator of demon spawn. Satan and Ahimian in time developed many points of likeness ; but I take it that Satan is a conception essentially Jewish ;* and it is from Hebrew tradition,† (Persian tradition infiltrated,) that English protestantism derives most of its ideas about Satan and his demon hierarchy : ideas far more respectful towards them than those that obtained in more Catholic times. Dunstan tweaked the devil's nose with a pair of red hot pincers. Luther was not inclined to do him homage ; but latter day protestantism is. Besides, it is such a comfort to some people to be able to attribute their misdeeds to an occult authority beyond reach of human power of resistance.

Occult philosophies dealing with, and more or less dependent upon demons and familiar spirits, crop up every now and again in 19th century times, pretty much as they did when the world was younger, and Plutarch suggested to scoffers at the bad verses delivered as oracles, that the God did not make the verses, but only communicated the moving impulse that led to their manufacture. Mr. Martin Tupper's rendering of his oracles, is possibly a modern instance of similar failure in the adaptation of manufacturing talent to raw material ; Madame Blavatsky's another. A couple of centuries ago such a heterodox enthusiast would have been burnt probably, by way of sacerdotal protest against demonism. Faggot-and-stake fashions have gone out of fashion in our times, and instead of burning priestesses of the occult, or drowning them by way of finding out, whether they are or are not too friendly with the Devil for orthodox toleration, enlightened people laugh their pretensions to scorn, and flock to their seances. It is noteworthy that Madame Blavatsky's system of theosophy, and its groundwork of familiar spirits, is being taken to very kindly by young India. Our educated Baboos are sceptically inclined about the old gods, and the old religions ; but incline to believe still in demons, ghosts, and magic.

Under older orderings of affairs spiritual than now usually obtain, demons, when not actively in opposition, were often

* Voltaire, by the way, held it a certainty that the cohabitation of witches with goats, the devils presidency at their sabbaths as a he goat, and their manner of doing homage to him in that form by kissing *la derrière*—all the ceremonial observed at these orgia—came from the Jews, having been learnt by them from the Egyptians.

† And Milton.

made useful to old world divinities, as chorus to their transcendentalism, supports to the maintenance of their dignity, washers sometimes, so to speak, of their dirty linen, who could, if needful, be held answerable for the fact that there was dirty linen to wash. Their office it was to minister to the greater glory and convenience of High Gods, to act as intermediary agents between those gods and men, to be primitive Mercuries of various sorts. Even Mahomet, much as he insisted on the oneness and all sufficiency of Allah, did not care to dispense with such a hierarchy.

Naturally, such intermediaries were not all vested with possession of equal rank, power and natural ability. In course of time some developed into gods, and some have fallen. One may see a somewhat similar process of evolution and selection at work in the India of to-day. In the last Census Report for Bengal, for instance, Mr. Bourdillon points out that room is being made in the Hindu Pantheon for reception thereunto of demons who had till lately been accustomed only to the tutelage and worship of rude aboriginal tribes, whilst at the same time manufacture, or an adaptation to altered circumstances of other demons, goes on in suitable ratio. Brahmanism may not be a proselytizing creed in the sense in which Western world folk use the word proselytizing: but it is not unreceptive, when sufficient inducements make bids for its patronage.

Like most of the religious systems that were founded in ancient times, and found favour with the ancients, it is fundamentally aristocratic in constitution, and provides accordingly one creed for well-born, well-to-do people, another for the plebeian and poor. As a class the Brahmns believe in demonism. Many of them are fain to make a living out of exorcism.

Some Brahmans, and others who do not personally believe any more than the exorcists do in demonism, find it probably as useful an aid to power over the laity, as did some Bishops of the primitive Christian Church, when that Church had outgrown the communist tending gospel that at first recommended it to the poor and people of low estate, and had begun to affect aristocratic pretensions and distinctions. Commentators on early Church history have filled many big folios with disquisitions on demons and their origin, nature, developments, appointed work amongst men and women, and seem to have been almost as much concerned with demonology as with the accurate classification of heresies. St. Augustine considered he had indubitable proof that the sylvans and fauns, and all sorts of "incubi," were fond of, and resorted to, carnal intercourse with women; and his writings helped much to lead Churchmen, centuries after his time, to orthodox

ecclesiastical judgment and practise with regard to "possessed" people, witches, &c. The witch of pagan times had great powers: but they were powers quite unconnected with religion; were never held to be a defiance of religion. Mental derangement, too, a man's bodily possession by some demon, that is to say in effect, was never in those ancient times matter for opprobrium till Christianity and Churchmen stigmatized it as a degradation. *Apropos*, in the early part of the 11th century, long years after the Church had outgrown primitiveness, an unfortunate grammarian, one Bilgard of Ravenna, was condemned to death, because he was haunted by evil spirits, who assumed the shape, now of Horace, now of Virgil, anon of Catullus, or some other pagan writer, and who managed to persuade poor Bilgard that their writings are not necessarily heretical. An incident suggestive of a melancholy corollary to Horace's hackneyed—"Non omnis moriar," &c. Was it to turn demon at last, that the genial old-world Herrick avoided the ordinary lot of mortals?

It was not till 1484 that Innocent the Eighth's Bull against the Occult World was promulgated, and quickly followed by the famous *Malleus maleficarum*—a digest of demonological law, a compendium of instructions for every day procedure therein; and the corner stone of many horrible persecutions.

Oriental diabolism, and fear of diabolism, has never taken such cruel shape as, under the sanctions of the Church, it took in the West. The demons allotted to popular use in India differ altogether from their European kith and kin. Notably, they are not as a rule, vindictively disposed towards mankind. Usually, at any rate, few are vindictive, though they are often boisterously and unkindly mischievous. It is to the Goddess Kali and not to demons that human sacrifices are offered in Bengal; it was to propitiate the Earth Goddess, not any demon, that Merias were offered up in Southern India. Even the man-eating-tiger fulfils his bloody mission in the way he does, only because no other way is open to him of reminding relations and erewhile fellow villagers of duties they have left unfulfilled. Let the vexed ghosts of men who have been untimely killed by tigers, be appeased with such propitiatory sacrifices and offerings as are their due. Thereafter the desire for revenge on an undutiful society that induces them to help the tiger, to guide his sacrificial footsteps, will be no longer existent.

Again, the Ghost Snake (*Bhút Sampa*), to be heard of in parts of Behar, is not malicious on its own behalf. But if anyone is unlucky enough to provoke the utmost ire of a powerful witch woman, she may entrust to the *Bhút Sampa* execution of a death warrant; and by virtue of that authority, it will appear in a dream to the condemned person, and bite

him or her, and convey its incorporeal presence away to some other dream-world. People bitten by this ghostly nightmare, make up their minds that they must needs die twenty-four hours after the supposed biting; and having so determined, they *do* die. It is surely conceivable that, with very ignorant, simple-minded folk, faith may be a very real motive power. The difficulty lies not in the moving of mountains, but in a man's ability to believe that he can. Faith sometimes is Fate. The *bhūt-sampa* is as passive an instrument in the hands of such a fate as the man who believes he has been bitten by it; neither, necessarily or presumably malicious on its own account. Putting on one side the man-eating-tiger, the *bhūt-sampa*, and two or three more Indian demons whose dealings with mankind are ambiguous, the rest of the family are no more disposed to behave cruelly to the men and women they live amongst, than those men and women are disposed to regard them with absolute disfavour. Although, however, Indian demons, considered in the aggregate, are not consistently malicious like the demons of Europe, it is yet true enough that they are all of them jealous demons, and that some of them do, on occasion, show great vindictiveness, and are apt to be peevish and unreasonable at times. They are Indian * demons, in short, and dealings with them often call for the exercise of diplomatic talents. These are the very talents Indians excel and delight in. Even, however, as amongst men and women, prolonged tickling, or injudicious tickling, sometimes induces tears and uncomfortability and ill-temper, so it may happen amongst demons. Indian ghosts are not always, not on the whole, quite so good-tempered as Indian demons. Still, prithee, consider the *Churail's* long suffering loving kindness, and call to mind how dangerous it is in the Western world for a man to have any thing whatsoever to do with feminine spirits, even though he may do them a kindness. Pious Parson Rudall, of Launceston in Cornwall, who with the help of prayer, a pentacle and a crutch of rowan at the intersection of its five angles, laid the Bothathen ghost and delivered that unquiet spirit from trouble, fell a victim soon afterwards to the plague. Le Sieur Nann, in the Breton story, meets the Korrigan in the forest; and loves her—and death is the penalty. Similarly the Kanekas

* Chinese demons follow a coffin to the burial ground, as must also the spirit of the defunct, and if the demons bear it a grudge, they with pinchings, pin prickings, manifold spiteful tricks, make things very uncomfortable for it. By way of diverting their energies into another channel, the Heathen Chinese mourner drops sham bank-notes on the road, and the local demons fall into the trap with an ingenuous simplicity quite charming to think of, and find employment for their mischievous fingers in picking up the wind-blown-about scraps of worthless paper.

of new Caledonia tell a tale of one of their fellows who met in the woods an amiable dryad, and mistook her for his Earth-world's sweetheart, and found her caresses deadly. Nowhere in the Western world do the ghosts of women who have been made victims to a man's cruelty, perfidy, lust, incline to forget and forgive. They are not kindly disposed towards other men—men who have done them no wrong—but unkindly; and they delight in revenging themselves on mankind at large. Not thus does the *churail* behave. Having suffered at the hands of a man, inasmuch as she died in child-bed, she sets her ghostly affections on the first mortal man coming within range of her spiritual accessibilities; every night favours him with her company; loads him with costly presents and tokens of kindly regard. She makes but one condition with him; puts but one chance of limit to her loving kindness. He must tell nobody the secret of their love. If he does, whatever implied contract there may have been between them, is therewithal rendered null and void; the costly presents dissolve into air and emptiness; the vain, babbling fool is left to bemoan his folly. But that is all that happens. There is no dying in three days, or wasting away in three months, as would have happened if the *churail* had been a Western world bred ghost. The worst thing that can be laid to her charge is, that she is instrumental to the conveyance of a moral. Dimly, one may discern how, in another state of existence, a lesson they were unable to learn while yet in the flesh may be taught to the ghosts of women; how by virtue of occult spiritual influences brought to bear on tender personal relations, keeping a secret may come to be recognized by them as an obligation under certain circumstances.

It has been well said—

"'Tis love, 'tis love, 'tis love
That makes the world go round."

Why not in the spirit-world as well as in ours? Old church histories abound in instances of, and accountings for, demon amours. So do mediæval romances. Towards the end of the 16th century, in the year 1580, to be precise, there was published in Paris a book entitled *La Demonomanie des Sorciers*. Its author, Jean Bodin, was an eminent French lawyer, a man reputed wise, not only in his own time but also in ours; for his political treatise *De la Republique* has been praised by Hallam and by Dugald Stewart for philosophical ability and acuteness. And M. Bodin abundantly testifies to the frequency, piquancy, and ardour of demon loves for mortal maidens. As an instance of charity on the part of an Indian demon, sexual love unadulterated, take Moung-Oo who dispenses physic on credit to the Burmans he lives amongst, and who, having fulfilled

his ministrations to a quite impecunious patient, will be content, in the way of fees, to accept from him a promise to pay so many pigs, or so many fowls, in six months' time, or a year's time, as luck may serve. Buddhist priests in Burmah find no difficulty in persuading the people to do without gods. But we doubt much whether they would be able to persuade the people to do without demons; supposing that they had the least desire or notion of trying to. They have not. In every respectable Burman's house there is an altar to the tutelary demon thereof, who may be either male or female as to sex, and who is ordinarily as inoffensive as it is invisible. To that tutelary demon, independently of other subsidies, the "first-fruits" of any food eaten, any grog consumed in the house, must be offered up. Once in a way, when half a dozen guests tumble in to dine at his board, unbidden and unexpected, a Burman host, in the hurry of his hospitable intents absorbed, may set before them food and liquor, and forget the customary offering. Then the house demon, jealous and angry, will enter into and "possess" the body of one of these guests enjoying a feast of which it has not been asked to partake, will cause the possessed person to be rude, and to make use of abusive language to the other guests, to sing such extremely improper songs that even Burmese ears are shocked, to make the house of the feast-giver a nuisance generally to himself and to the neighbourhood. Much effusion of contrition and coaxing is needful to induce the offended house patron to leave the body of the possessed person, and to resume his or her ordinary function as friend of the family, and guardian in ordinary of its interests. But a family quarrel of this sort is of very rare occurrence. As a rule Burmans are not unmindful of the privileges of their home demons; and the home demons for their part, do not nurse long their just wrath over a breach of privilege. In disposition they are, Burman-like, good natured. Buddhist affiliated demons usually are. Long years ago, when Brahmadata was king in Benares, one of his queens bore to him a son, Mahimsa hight, to whom it was appointed, when time should be older, to sojourn in this world awhile as Gaudama Bhuddha. As the manner used to be with Indian princes in good old Aryan times, he was obliged, when grown up, to go into exile. A brother and a half-brother accompanied him; and one day, as the three wandered in a forest, they chanced upon a pond, with water from which Mahimsa thought he would like to quench his thirst. So he lay down under a tree, and told his half-brother to bring him some. After waiting an hour or two for his return, the other brother was despatched to see what delayed him: but neither did he return. Then Mahimsa, exalted prince, and privileged elder brother though he was, began

to perceive that some holding in abeyance of dignities and ceremonial, some exertion on his own part, had become necessary, if he wanted his thirst appeased; and he, too, went down to the pond. When he got there, the demon to whom it belonged, interrogated him as to the nature of true divinity, premising that he was in the habit of eating people who were unable to expound this riddle to his satisfaction. When Mahimsa had, in a manner with which we are not presently concerned, concluded his exposition, the demon disgorged his brothers and remarked: "Not only dost thou know what true divinity is, O wise one, but thou hast even acted in keeping with it." Truly, a rare combination of good gifts. There may well have been, at the time when this adventure happened, demons quite as kindly in disposition as was this enchanted pond riddle-monger. But it is difficult to conceive of a demon able to preach a pithier sermon in few words.

"Not profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for edification, for building up or elevating in any shape." So, years ago, Mr. Carlyle wrote of the Waverley Novels. Can it be perchance because of some profitableness abiding in them, that demon methods of preaching and teaching are so decried by goody-goody folk, with whom the Waverley Novels continue to be authoritative? A liberal-minded Scotch minister did once invite his congregation to join with him in prayer for "the puir deil." But he was a most exceptional worthy. Usually, missionaries, *in partibus infidelium*, are very bitter indeed in speech against the devil, and all his works and belongings, demons included; and it is edifying to take note of what a wide range of works they manage to connect him with. Especially when they come to India, and there encounter urbane demon foes whose tactics they have not been prepared to comprehend, and whose behaviour amongst men and women cannot always be made to fit in with the teachings of Clapham, or Watson's "Institutes of Theology," or the Regent's Park College. They fail to see that the disestablishment of demons in India can no more be effected by means of educational exorcisms thence derived, than it can be by Act of Parliament. They are more successful in their endeavours amongst aboriginal tribes than with any other natives of India. But, even so, demons continue to dominate such ideas about religion as aboriginal Indian tribes are able to assimilate. Take Santhal villagers by way of instance. Whether over and above their professions of Christianity, or independently of Christianity, they believe in one supreme god, a deity called Chandabunga. Amongst them, it is customary, once in three or once in five years, as the case may be, to offer

a goat in sacrifice to him, its owner calling upon Chanda-bunga's name whilst in act to cut the throat of the victim—which he then proceeds to cook, and eat. The dryads Jahirira, Monikoh, Marungburu, and Gosaiera are, as a matter of fact, more frequently and reverently honoured. But fullest Santhal meed of honour, of worship, is paid to the demon Manjiharam; often called familiarly and fondly Boodha Manjhi, of which affectionate nickname "Old Santhal" is said to be a fair interpretation. The stone representative of his spiritual presence amongst Santhals is to be found in some central part of every Santhal village not wholly given over to German-Lutheran dominion; or wholly given over, but not subjected to strict preventive watch and ward. Quite beyond Indian Missionary ken, the inhabitants of the Nicobar Island, who appear to have no conception at all of a God, rejoice in possession of a demon. They alternately coax him with offerings, and frighten him with scarecrows; and they seem to find such *argumentum ad judicium* as persuasive as a negro does the *argumentum Baculinum* applied to his fetisch. Similarly, not long ago, when the *vox populi*, that is his *vox Dei*, contumaciously rejected his offerings, Mr. Gladstone used to hoist the scarecrow resignation, and sulk until his demon, weary of going without new turns to the sacrificial wheel, and holocaust of slaughtered Whig and Tory arguments, and savour of honeyed democratic speeches, made overtures for reconciliation. Similarly—though with Cromwellian turn of the wrist to boot—Prince Bismarck serves his Parliaments still. Civilization is a respectable sort of cant, and can become at times as able as it is willing to destroy ancient temples, and to desecrate old world, or strange world altars and shrines. It may repudiate the *δαίμων* and ostentatiously do without any divine afflatus for genius: but it is never able to break down utterly all the bridges that connect it with more primitive worships.

We have referred to demon possessions in connection with Burmese regard for house demons. Epileptic fits, immoderate use of drugs, fastings, and the dreams and dream interpretations they induce, national traditions, child-like sublimities of ignorance—are all factors that help on such "possessions," and make manifestations of them common enough amongst men and women in India. Amongst sundry animals, too, such manifestations are common. The dog, the wolf, and the goat, of course: they are occult world affiliated all over the world. The cat is not now-a-days a witch's familiar in England. In India, parents are very careful to let no cat get anywhere near a newly-born infant, lest it should bring with it a demon to torment the child. The meek dove, Western world emblem

of peace and love, is a demon-possessed herald of death and doom. The "ship of the desert," held up to English school-boy admiration, is demon family affiliated; gets laid upon him sometimes much the same burden of iniquity the Jewish scape goat used to be saddled with. The serpent, too, is still a demon principality; an object of much veneration and worship. Mr. Sherring, in his book on Hindu Tribes and Castes, says that they all, without exception, worship the snake.

It is a somewhat notable survival. There would seem but little room for worthy doubt that serpent-worship was one of the earliest and one of the most widespread of religious cults. On the attestation of its fauna and flora scientific people have, with as much unanimity as can be expected from such people, agreed to believe that Australia is the oldest soil now existing on the face of the globe. Whether primeval man had his origin there; whether in some primeval world convulsion Australia drifted away from the African continent; or whether it was ever near enough to Asia to derive from thence its inhabitants, are riddles to which, happily, we are not constrained to reply. We only refer to them as helping to fair presumption that the men who discovered Australia in modern times, found themselves face to face with a people who were, to all characteristic intents and purposes, primeval—in whatsoever fashion it happened to their ancestors to people that continent. These latter day discoverers at any rate found themselves in the midst of a people who had learnt nothing, invented nothing,* built nothing, helped to develop nothing; not even found out that the soil they lived on was worth any sort of systematic tilling; any tilling at all, one might say without running much risk of exaggerating. But all this backwardness notwithstanding, they had found out how to worship a demon; a huge serpent called Jingà, who haunted caves and dark places. Evidently, therefore, no sun-god substitute, servant or symbol, such as men of the Max Müller school of philology are fond of relegating and referring all occult powers to. No earth-god manifestation either, of any serviceable, other country like earth-god similitude. Jingà was too uniformly lethargic, too purposelessly malevolent for that. A demon sheer and simply. Not even amiable enough, or selfishly far-sighted enough, to let his worshippers know of the stores of gold lying hid just under their feet. Bright, soft, easily malleable gold that might, without much effort, have been converted into gewgaws, and such personal adornments as are dear to the hearts of the most rudimentary of men and women. In other countries and amongst other peoples, serpents have shown

* The boomerang is now claimed as an Egyptian invention.

a title to grateful regard from men, by discovering to them the secrets of the earth, and teaching them how to work metals, as Cadmus did in Greece, and the Nágs did in India. Much worshipped although he was, surly Australian Jingà never did anything of the sort for his worshippers; appears to have been a most exceptionally stolid, crabbed, demon: as unlike the generality of serpent demons as Cerberus was probably in days before he cast that uncongenial skin, and arraying himself more suitably as a dog, approved himself a cynic philosopher with the courage of his convictions.

The serpent, the giver of good gifts to men, the healer, the teacher, the guardian of religious mysteries, has fallen from his high estate; can now count no Druid worshippers in Gaul or Britain; find no altar places amongst latter-day Greeks, Romans, Mexicans, and Jews. The only relict of the worship to which Jewish tradition at all inclines to cling now is memory of Lilis or Lilith, the demon serpent woman who was Adam's first wife, and bore to him demon progeny. Serpent-worship is extinct amongst the descendants of most of the serpent-worshippers of old time. But still in India, all Hindu castes, without exception, worship the snake. So do many Indian Mahomedans. Only Dhangars, Musahars, &c.—no caste men, whose bellies are their gods, and who are omnivorous—care to kill snakes: will kill snakes one may say broadly. We were once in the act to knock on the head one which had intruded on the verandah of a bungalow in the Mofussil, when a Rajput servant begged its life, and taking it up tenderly in his bosom, carried it away and set it free in an adjoining field.

Not long afterwards opportunity offered of looking up the character of this petted snake in Dr. Fayrer's book on the thanatophidia of India; and we found it set down in that *Index Expurgatorius* as a most deadly reptile. Our Rajput, we take it, gave irreproachable evidence of the reality as well as the courage of his religious belief, as far as it was concerned with snake-worship. Some of our readers will doubtless be able to fall back on their own experiences of every-day Mofussil life for quite as cogent manifestations of a living faith in serpent sanctity.

We have come across natives who may be induced, *on a Sunday*, to kill the *harrara*, the lithe little grass snake of Mofussil gardens. On that one day of the week its bite is poisonous; some curse of sin is laid on it; and ill-luck is not bound to dog the fortunes of the man who does it an injury. Woe will betide the man who, on any day of the week, injures a *lakh pitti*, a serpent dispenser of wealth. Popular withal as a poor man's friend; indisposed to bite anybody not worth a lakh of rupees. Cobras and other snakes, death menacing when driven to a corner, or in

any fashion impelled by fear to aggressive use of their powers, are in effect held to have deprived themselves of benefit of clergy, are "postponed," as the lawyers would say, to selfish considerations, and killed without much demur. But in the main, Indian snakes are still in popular acceptance demons; benevolent in intention rather than malignant, making malevolent exposition of their ability for hurtfulness only when exasperated, or compelled to self-assertion. Dangerous enough then. You may kill a cobra easily enough; but although its mate may be a mile or two off at the time, it will know who did the deed; and it is more than likely to revenge it. The only way to secure oneself against demon serpent resentments (a way only possible in special cases), is to disarm the serpent, to gain possession of the charmed jewel or stone whence its magic power is derived. The man who gains possession of a *maniara's* ruby will do more than disarm resentments; may secure to himself all the luck in life he desires. And the feat is not altogether an impossible one. At night time, feeding time, the *maniara* ejects this ruby from his throat, in order that its light may serve him for a lamp. Whoso, at such time, can make opportunity to possess himself of it, need not fear overmuch the issue of an immediate pursuit, if he will only remember to turn and twist, hare-like, in his flight. For, deprived of his magical jewel, the *maniara* will have become quite blind, and as incapable of quick turns and twists as the most commonplace of rustic ophidians. Before very long he must die of starvation, induced by sightless incapacity for hunting up food. And, in his case, there appears to be no irate, avenging spouse. In his exaltation the *maniara* dwells alone. Besides, the ruby ensures its present possessor against misfortune as long as he can hold fast to it. He has fate on his side; and as long as he can keep fate in his breeches pocket may defy even demons.

"What were rocks made for my brethren? Even that mariners might avoid them." That is a riddle once upon a time propounded, and pulpit answered by a clerical teacher of English people whose name has not been handed down to posterity, together with his interpretation of a rock hieroglyphic of his own invention. The advice he seems to have desired to convey, strikes us as good advice. We have a notion that if clerical teachers of Indian folk made more application of it than they do to their missionary endeavours amongst the said folk, we should hear less often than we do now of missionary shipwrecks, and hopelessly damaged missionary cargoes. We think a gospel of love would be far more likely to prove efficacious than a gospel of Satan and his angels; a gospel of fear. We think that Satan and his demons compare unfavourably

with the generality of Indian demons ; and that they might be less considered in missionary preachments, with advantage to the cause of Christianity. The educational churning of sorts that is going on in India now is not, in any particular like, the old legendary churning that induced *Amrita*, the water of life. Under a new dispensation Asurs, fallen from their high estate, are able to take but a very insignificant share in the stirring up of modern muddles and vacuities, as compared with the share they took under the primeval dispensation. And the new churning has no period put to it, goes on increasing and to increase, conquering and to conquer. It can rest satisfied with no mere water of life ; must furthermore have wine ; generous fulfilment, as well as initial sap of vital energies and aspirings. When it has achieved this, there will be no room in any of its outcomes for much demonism. Meanwhile, we are of opinion that Indian demons get more abused and disparaged than they deserve. They should at least be judged on their merits ; not condemned offhand just because some people choose to confound them with Western world demons, and, having given their dog a bad name, proceed, with out further parley, to hanging.

When Indian demons do go to limbo, they will go, we take it, not because they are such bad, Satan modelled characters as some missionaries would have us believe, but because young India, having got out of leading strings, will stand in no further need of their services ; and because Indians, then, will not feel more grateful to their demons than English people do the Wolf who devoured little Red Ridinghood, or to the Beast who made occasion for committal to paper of the charming story of his and Beauty's adventures. Or than they do to the giants and giantesses who give Jack the Giant-Killer and other nursery heroes opportunity to inculcate, on child-minds, a great deal of more than doubtful morality—as to the bearing of which it is a precious child-privilege to have no definite ideas, and better still, to be compelled to swallow none of grown up people's invention.

JNO. HOOLEY.

ART. VII.—WHICH WAS IT? DAWHAPA OR WITCH.

Makhan's fatted bull was ill. All the wise men of the village collected round the *machān* upon which the poor beast lay, and looked at him with sad eyes and elongated countenances. They had watched him from his youth upwards, rejoicing in his rapid growth and increasing strength. They confidently anticipated the pleasure of seeing him conquer a rival bull in the adjoining village before being sacrificed at a wedding festival.

Makhan was a well-to-do man, and he had made up his mind to have the best bull in his village; one that should be able to hold his own against all rivals. For this purpose he had travelled down from his village to the Pooteemaree Hât, * and purchased the finest young bull calf he could find. The Garos never rear cattle, or keep cows; they purchase a limited number of young bulls at the hâts, and drive them up to their villages, there to be tended with the utmost care by the women of the family. They thrive well on the succulent young bamboo shoots that form their daily food, and the refuse grain that remains in the bottom of the large vessels in which the rice beer is made. When old enough, they afford the only sport that Garos indulge in to any extent, namely, bull-fighting, and then fulfil their destiny by being sacrificed to the Dawhápá or deities, and satisfying the hungry cravings of their owner's friends and relations.

Makhan had paid a good price for his calf, and his wife and children had fed it with juicy young bamboo shoots unremittingly. It had rewarded them for their care by growing large and powerful. One by one it had fought with, and conquered, all the bulls in its own village, and a fight had been arranged with a rival animal in the next village. Makhan's daughter was to be married, and the leading feature in the wedding festival was to be the victory, sacrifice, and consumption of the champion bull.

The heart of Makhan's rival sank as he saw the magnificent beast growing more powerful week by week. He plied his own animal with the youngest and freshest of bamboo shoots and tended him with the utmost care. The animals were well matched, and the excitement waxed hotter and hotter as the day appointed for their combat approached. Many a victory had the rival bull won, but now the time had come for him to

* Market.

meet a worthy foe who would humble his pride in the dust. It wanted but a fortnight to the eventful day. In the evening the villagers, as usual, gathered round the *machān* upon which the bull was kept; admiring his size and strength. Was there ever such a bull before! How short and sturdy his legs were, how broad his forehead, what a magnificent hump he had, and such a dew-lap! They were never tired of discoursing on his perfections.

But the next day saw a change. The poor bull was very sick. He stood with drooping head and dull eyes, gazing languidly at the tempting food before him, not caring to eat any of it. Every one suggested some remedy for his sickness, but no one could solve the mystery of its cause. When—after a few hours, he sank wearily down as if life had become too heavy a burden to be supported standing, there was a groan from all the spectators.

"He will die," said Makhan gloomily. "My fate is bad indeed! What can I do!"

"Who has brought this misfortune on us," cried his wife. "Some one has bewitched our bull."

Every one turned and looked at a little old woman who stood close to the *machān*, with a cynical smile on her wizened face, and a jeering laugh bursting forth now and again from her thin lips. She was known to bear Makhan no good will. Could it be that she had bewitched his treasured bull?

The suspicion was rapidly gaining ground, when a grey-headed elder of the community suggested another theory.

"You have offended one of the Dawhápa," he said solemnly. "This is not the work of a witch, for the animal has not dwindled slowly away, it has been struck down in one night."

The crowd looked at one another with scared faces, if it should be Abette—the most easily offended and relentless of their deities—what a dire misfortune it would be. They whispered his name in awe-struck accents.

"No," said the old woman, shaking her head as much as her large bunches of earrings would allow her to: "No, it is not Abette, Abette kills slowly, too."

"Which is it then?" asked Makhan eagerly. "Which is it?" asked everyone in turn; "if you know, why don't you tell us?"

"You must find out," she said carelessly as she moved away.

An angry murmur rose. Many believed she had bewitched the bull, and would gladly have subjected her to the test of witchcraft. But Makhan's daughter suggested that they should try to find out which of the Garo deities had been offended, and brought the articles required for the ceremony of divining.

This turned their thoughts away from the suspected woman, and they watched Makhan eagerly as, holding a large leaf in his hand, in such a way that it formed a small cup, he filled it with water. Taking a grain of rice in his right hand he dropped it carefully into the water, mentioning, as he did so, the name of one of the Dawhápa, or gods of his tribe.

The grain sank to the bottom. He tried another and another, each time mentioning the name of a god. The inferior spirits were mentioned first, evidently in the hope that it might be one of them whom he had unwittingly offended. As each grain sank to the bottom of the cup, the faces of the spectators grew longer.

With a sigh Makhan uttered the name of the greatest of their gods—Schuschma. Every one craned forward to see if the grain of rice sank or floated, and a grunt of satisfaction expressed the general feeling of relief, when it was seen to sink slowly to the bottom. But there was another name they dreaded still more, for Schuschma, though powerful, is not supposed to be easily offended, whereas Abette, although inferior to the "father of the gods," is supposed to be much more ready to take offence, and is utterly relentless and unforgiving.

"Abette," said Makhan slowly with a slight quaver in his voice. If the grain floated the bull was doomed, for Abette never forgave, and Makhan himself would probably sicken and die. The grain followed its predecessors to the bottom, and there was a general sigh of relief.

"Luckhme," suggested some one, as Makhan paused to collect his thoughts.

"Luckhme." This time the grain floated on the surface, and a murmur of satisfaction ran through the crowd, for Luckhme was the "mother of the harvest," and very easily propitiated. A few bamboo stakes were hastily cut and driven into the ground, a fowl was caught and killed with very little ceremony, and its blood and feathers smeared on the bamboo stakes, and the whole thing was over.

Makhan and his family eat the flesh of the fowl; it would be pure waste to offer that portion to the Dawhápa; and everyone went to sleep convinced that they had discovered the cause of the poor bull's indisposition and applied the remedy.

In the morning they changed their minds, for the animal was still very sick. They concluded that they had been mistaken in attributing his illness to Luckhme, and reverted to the idea of witchcraft.

One of the village women had already fallen under the suspicion of witchcraft, and the belief in her guilt spread rapidly. The cynical old woman whose conduct had annoyed

her neighbours on the previous evening, was dragged out of her house, and would speedily have been subjected to a cruel ordeal to test her innocence, but that a cat was required for this particular ordeal and none could be found. Cats are not plentiful in Garo villages, and on this occasion it was necessary to send some distance to get one. This occupied some time, and a few of the women amused themselves with trying to find out if the old woman was a witch or not, by less hurtful means than the severe ordeal proposed by the angry crowd.

They cut a little bamboo peg, and creeping softly to where the old woman's shadow fell on the ground, pinned it—as they supposed—to mother earth. But she moved away without any difficulty and disappointed them. Then they made her sit on a log of wood cut from a particular tree, fully expecting that she would be unable to remain on it. But again they were disappointed, for she sat quietly on the log, which she could not have done if she had been a witch. These tests ought to have satisfied her accusers, but men are more difficult to convince than women, and the men refused to believe in her innocence unless she should pass uninjured through the terrible ordeal they were preparing for her.

She was to be fastened into a large basket with a live cat; a hole was cut in the basket to enable her to thrust her arm through it, and she was to be flung into the river. If she succeeded in grasping a handful of sand in her outstretched hand, without being scratched by the cat before rising to the surface, she would be declared innocent; but if she failed, the fact of her being a witch would be fairly proved, according to the Garo idea of a fair proof, and she would be driven out of her village to die in the jungle. No one would dare to take pity on her, and give her food or shelter. If she should be drowned, as was most probable, they would rejoice at having rid the village of her presence.

By the time a cat was procured, the evening had closed in, and Makham's daughter suggested that it would be well to wait until the morning and see if the bull was not better. This reasonable suggestion would have shared the fate that good advice generally does, but that nature came to the rescue of the poor old woman. A heavy thunder-storm broke over the village, and every one was glad to retire to the shelter of their houses.

Possibly, the old woman shared in the belief that she would escape quite uninjured if she were innocent, for she was undisturbed by the thought of what the morning would bring, and slept soundly. When the day broke, however, and she was dragged through the village towards the banks of the

river, she struggled desperately and abused her tormentors in choice language.

"Wait a little," cried Makhan's daughter hurrying from the edge of the jungle near her father's house, with an armful of fresh bamboo shoots. "He has been calling for his food for the last half hour. Let us see if he will eat it."

The crowd stopped. The bull was on his legs again, and certainly looked brighter and better. If he eat his food, there was some hope for him, and every one waited in silence to see what he would do. The poor old woman knew that her life depended on what he did. Her confidence of the night before had deserted her, and she clung to the bull's *machān* with frantic energy, as if nothing should tear her away from it until he had eaten his leaves. When the animal stretched out his head and drew the little shoots, so temptingly offered to him, into his mouth, low chuckles of satisfaction, grunts of approbation, and cries of rejoicing resounded on all sides. The old woman burst into a passion of tears as she sank to the ground, completely overcome by the suddenness of her joy.

"It is all right, now," said Makhan's daughter kindly; "no one has bewitched our bull after all. You were in too great a hurry," she continued, turning to her fellow-villagers. "It was Lukhmee who was offended, you see. Perhaps she was on a journey and could not answer us sooner. She has cured our bull now."

Perhaps she had. Anyhow he lived to conquer his rival, and was sacrificed and disposed of to the great satisfaction of all concerned.

ESMÉ.

ART. VIII.—BENGAL EUROPEAN SCHOOL CODE.—II.

“Education is the master and keeper of time.”—*Thring*.

EDUCATION is a subject that can hardly ever stale upon us. A nation's progress depends on its education. If civilisation is to advance, the more discussion there is as to the ways and means of perfecting our educational methods the better. The urgency of the European education question in India is now acknowledged on all hands, and has received the direct attention of Government since 1881. In that year the Bengal European School Code began to be framed; it was first tried in 1883, and published in 1884, and various modifications have been made in it every year since. During my connection with two of the largest institutions in the Presidency, I was able, in five different capacities, to test the practicability of the Code, and since last year I have had the opportunity of working a growing school on the lines of a Code somewhat similar to, but much in advance of, the Government Code. The result of all this observation is my conviction, that a great deal of improvement in the Government Code is necessary, and I am grateful for the kind permission I have received to state my convictions in the pages of this *Review*.

The January number contained my first article on the subject, the object of which was to show how the existing expenditure in the maintenance of institutions for European education in the Lower Provinces of Bengal might be so directed as to “secure the best results.” This little effort of mine in a great cause has called forth a review from Mr. L. W. D'Cruz. It is not my purpose to review in return. I wish only to draw attention more clearly to some important points in the subject, which he has passed over, and to correct certain of his references to, and quotations from, my article which are somewhat faulty.

The Code under review has to do with schools where the work is done by the medium of European languages and on European lines of thought, and it has been felt to be a hardship in such schools that they are not allowed to draw grants for some of their best pupils who happen not to come under the Government definition of European, although they are more used to “European habits and modes of life” than hundreds of others who differ in no noticeable way, besides hats and body-drawers, from the mass of natives around them. For expressing this opinion my reviewer charges me with including Armenians, Greeks, and Burmese under the

category of Europeans. But those who read my article will remember that I spoke of such Armenians, Greeks, and Burmese—and I might have mentioned many others—as well as *natives*, “who have *cast off* their national characteristics and *are distinctly European in their habits and modes of life.*” The statement of my reviewer’s, that “European parents are averse from their children being brought into contact with others who differ widely from them not merely in language, mode of thought, and habits of life, but also in religion, for while they have nothing to gain by such fellowship they have much to lose,” will be found to be quite in harmony with the tenor of my previous writing. I propose that our schools should receive grants for those who *do not* differ widely from our children in language, mode of thought, and habits of life, nor in religion. The Burmese whom my reviewer exults over cannot be said to have “a common religion, a common language, and a common home” with ourselves. Since the Code has again been taken in hand for revision, I hope this matter will receive due consideration.

That the Bengal Code is scarcely different from the English Code for board schools will be clear to any one who will but take the trouble to compare the arrangement of the studies appointed for the different standards, especially in the primary school department. The arithmetic curriculum is identically the same in the first three standards of that department, and those who read English educational literature know, that the ablest judges have declared the insistence of numeration in these standards to be one of the greatest blemishes in the English Code. It can be no less so in the Indian, and three years spent in trying to teach numeration in these standards made me abandon the attempt before the Bengal Code was thought of; yet my reviewer says that to him “it is painful to see the writer stumbling on Standard I., and treating it as if that was intended in the Code to be the starting point for young children. It is clear that the Code contemplates that Standard I. shall ordinarily not be reached till a child is seven years of age, so as to be fit for examination a year after.” He means, of course, that by the time a child is seven years old and reaches the first standard, his mind is quite developed enough to grasp the meaning of local value, and that palpable methods are not needed to teach him to calculate. We have his bare assertion for it. He attaches no value to the authorities I quote in my article.

In the great majority of Bengal European schools, moreover, there is scarcely a call for such a thing as an infant school or department, of the kind existing in England. *One* infant class is as much as will ever fill sufficiently to pay a teacher, and very

often not even that. The average school-entering age in India *is seven*, and to try to teach "units, ten, hundreds" and all the rest of it to children of that age, children who *have passed* through an infant class or school, or *have had* their infant school training at home, has been found by actual trial to be treating them to "a jingling noise of sounds unknown,"—not only criminally waste their time, but clouds their perception and gives them a distaste for calculation; and although little fellows have been known to work themselves into the ring of their masters' numeration, the result in after years shows that that in no way contributed to make their arithmetical perception at all clearer, and on the great majority of children the incantation-like process has a decidedly deterrent and detrimental effect. This my reviewer does not attempt to answer, but falls prostrate before the majesty of "the framers of the Code." But what becomes of that majesty when the very Code they framed is being cut and clipped, shaped and re-shaped every year by those who think they know better? Shaping and re-shaping, however, are the best treatment a Code, or anything else that deals with methods can undergo, provided it be done judiciously, and one of the most necessary re-shapings in the English Code and in the Bengal one is the omission of numeration from the curriculum of the first three standards.

An important change already made in the original Code of the "framers" is the substitution of algebra for Euclid in the fifth standard. It has been acknowledged in all hands that algebra has been wisely introduced earlier than as at first enjoined. But the postponement of Euclid has been widely condemned and has led to difficulties in the subsequent studies of pupils, as will be shown later on. When carefully taught geometry is very attractive to boys and no less so to girls. I have found very young children take the deepest interest in conversations about circles, triangles, and squares, and if the fourth standard, though not subjected to examination in this subject, were to be familiarised with geometrical forms and their names in the course of conversational lessons, the fifth standard would be found to work Euclid along with algebra without any undue pressure. I have myself tried the experiment, and have found the plan succeed admirably. Indeed, the upper half-dozen of the fifth standard class in which the method was tried were anxious to be allowed to go on to the end of the first book. The whole of the rest of the class worked, and enjoyed the working of, the first twenty-six propositions.

The history work of the Code is very unskilfully arranged, being begun at the wrong end. Children are given quite a wrong idea of the sequence of events in the world's history by

beginning with Caractacus, and Arthur, and Vortigern. They should begin with their own times and go dynasty by dynasty, or better still, reign by reign back to the earlier days. Nineteenths of the belief in the dryness of history is due to this wrong beginning. It is not possible, however, to teach history in this way earlier than the fifth standard.

In the fourth standard, as enjoined in the Code, and even in the third, a book of historical tales should be read to familiarise the young mind to the fact, that great things were done and great men and women did live long ago. They will thus be prepared and eager for a chronological arrangement of these facts. Care should be taken, though, to see that the book appointed is not merely used as *an English reader* (for *this* is all that the Code provides), but that the children are taught to remember the characters and incidents studied.

By such a careful re-arrangement of subjects for the various standards a great deal of time might be saved. There would be only six standards in place of seven, and the sixth would serve very well as a Preparatory Entrance Class. The seventh standard might include an Entrance Class, and the Entrance Examination, as far as it goes, be taken as the test of the seventh standard. My reviewer says : "The Entrance Examination of the University was never intended to be a final standard, yet hitherto it has been adopted as such by the majority of pupils, who have attended our schools because they have had no alternative. It does not provide anything like a training such as every intelligent young man should have in entering the world. The curriculum includes the mere rudiments of school work, without touching upon such subjects as the physical sciences, drawing, music, botany, &c., for the simple reason that most of these are required in the higher examinations of the University Course. It is quite evident, therefore, that those who do not intend prosecuting their studies beyond the Entrance Examination cannot gain anything like a fairly general, or as it is called, liberal education by stopping short at that standard." I quite agree with him here, and in my former article I proposed that, "in addition to the work done for the University, chemistry and geometrical drawing should be made compulsory." This would lighten the work of the eighth standard, and go far towards making the work of the Entrance Class more interesting. At the same time it must be clear to every one who will but compare the curriculum and papers of the Entrance Examination and those of the Middle Scholarship Examination, that in English, Latin, history, geography, arithmetic, and algebra, the two are scarcely different from each other. Now it happens that the Entrance Examination is almost a *sine qua non* for admission into several departments of Government and mercantile service, and to find

a way out of the difficulty, JACOBIAN proposes, in the *Englishman* of the 17th May, that the University should cease to examine for matriculation, and should recognise the eighth standard examination of the Code as the matriculation test. This plan would not work at all. The University provides a very high standard in the branches of the eighth standard curriculum, and requires in matriculants indications of only a fair amount of intelligence and mental discipline. Moreover, the European School Code does not suit Native schools, and of course is not meant for them, whereas the University is meant for Natives as well as Europeans. As a matter of fact, the Entrance Examination requires only part of what the *seventh* standard, not the *eighth*, of the Code requires, and therefore the *Code* should recognise the *Entrance Examination* as far as it goes, and the inspectors should be particular in seeing that the teaching is in accordance with formative principles and not mere book-cramming as it too frequently is. I am very far from wishing to see the Entrance Examination recognised as "a final standard." Its object and name at once prevent any one from so regarding it. But our pupils' and inspectors' time, and the working power of our schools might be economised by preventing a useless repetition of the same work.

The course of study provided by the Code is *not* prescribed "with a view to University degrees," whatever the *Englishman* (see the issue of Friday, April 22, page 5) may think of the matter. So far is this from being the case that, as Mr. D' Cruz shows, the Code "provides a final examination called the 'high' for those who *do not seek* University honours, and makes the curriculum wide enough to allow scope for the study of one or more of those subjects which would at least tend to initiate the beginner in the more agreeable pursuits of intelligent and educated men, and to lead a little beyond the drudgery of the ordinary school room." In fact the curriculum, as I have tried to show, would be the better for a little more widening. The *Englishman* shows a very imperfect acquaintance with the boys and girls he professes to write on behalf of, when he assumes that the curriculum is "intended for boys and girls, the lives of most of whom will be spent entirely outside of intellectual pursuits." It was because "the drudgery of the ordinary classroom" was found to be insufficient for the boys and girls of the domiciled European community of India that the Code was framed at all. We can secure no advantage by lowering its standard and advocating that our children should be drilled for years at reading, writing, and simple arithmetic only. This drilling is necessary, of course; but does the writer not know that good reading cannot be attained without a great deal more than the Code provides? that simple arithmetic is almost

useless without some idea of geometrical figures, of historical sequence, of geographical locality, of algebraical connections, &c., &c., unless he means by simple arithmetic only *£ s. d.* or *R. a. p.*? He certainly does *not* know that one of the causes that kept the domiciled European community in the background so long was the ignorance that considered, say, Bengal (or even Calcutta) the world, that distrusted all distant parts, and went in for jât-ism as extravagant as that of the natives around. But he as certainly *ought* to know that the domiciled European community is asleep no longer; that it is claiming its proper place in the world; that it is already, on the whole, as well educated as any middle-class society anywhere; that it is striving to educate itself still more; that it encourages the desire to revise the Code in the direction of extension rather than of abridgement, and of economical arrangement rather than reduction in scope; that there are in our schools very many boys and girls who, besides being able to "work equations with two unknown quantities and do deductions from the first book of Euclid," *can* "write a letter in a natural style and read the *Vicar of Wakefield* with hearty intelligence." The article from which these quotations are made is certainly behind the times, although it finds room in a respectable journal.

The eighth standard is rightly considered the *final* standard of the School Code. But there are three very glaring defects in it. One of these, the omission of Latin, is the only imperfection my reviewer can discover anywhere in the Code. It is indeed a very striking discrepancy to make a modern European language or a vernacular suddenly compulsory in the final standard, when in the earlier standards the majority of schools have been allowed to teach Latin, and that only as a "special" subject. The importance of a vernacular in the middle school has been pointed out, and Latin should certainly be made *at least* alternative to French or German. My reviewer says that he has "reason to hope the next issue of the revised Code will see it in its proper place." All true teachers will rejoice to find his reason good and his hope fulfilled.

In the second place, I would draw attention to the fact that, with the present arrangement of subjects for the various standards, there is too great a rush made in mathematics in the eighth standard. If the suggestions contained in the preceding paragraph be acted upon, however, it will be found possible, not only to do all the work now appointed, but to work elementary statics and dynamics as a compulsory subject, and to carry the Euclid work to the end of the sixth book.

Perhaps the greatest defect of all is the strange way in which the course for girls differs from that for boys. The result of a great deal of controversy in the English magazine seems

to be the general opinion, that no reason exists for keeping girls out of any of the subjects taught to boys. The only subject that admits of a doubt is political economy, and since domestic economy must be taught to girls, it might take the place of the former in their curriculum.

To see that the arrangements directed in the Code are duly carried out in the fifty-seven schools already under Government inspection in Lower Bengal alone, is decidedly more than two men can satisfactorily do, even though they may devote their whole time to true inspection. Yet Government appoints only *one* Inspector and *one* Assistant Inspector, and, as if to make their designations misnomers, places on their shoulders the burden of *examining* each of these schools annually, both orally and in writing. The result is that the examining, though got through as quickly as possible, takes up nearly all their time, and leaves them little opportunity for inspection, properly so called. This I pointed out in my January article; but I have been misunderstood. My reviewer asks, "is it possible that the writer has not read through the Code which he attempts thus to review?" He then marshals all the paragraphs of the Code in which true inspection is enjoined,—all of which I could have quoted from memory—and finally exclaims: "It is inconceivable how a writer can venture to assert that what does exist and is provided for does not exist and is not provided for, except as the result of an oversight which is itself hardly pardonable in such a case." Should I cry, "Peccavi!" Here is the impeached passage: "The gentlemen who are called Inspector and Assistant Inspector are in reality not Inspectors at all, but examiners. Their time is almost wholly occupied in hurrying from school to school for the annual examinations,* and scarcely any time is at their disposal for the actual work of inspection. Now the annual examination is the least important part of the concern of a school. The world seems to have gone mad about examinations, and *the* work that schools were originally meant for is lost sight of, namely, the important business of securing to pupils a condition of physical, mental, and moral health. There is no one to go from school to school at all unexpected times, to see that the work of *e-duc*-ation is being conscientiously performed." I have in this passage taken *full* notice of "what does exist and is provided for," and therefore it is that I assert that we have *no* Inspector in the true sense of the word. Visits without notice are indeed ordered, but where are the men who shall pay them? We have been

* Fifty-seven schools have to be examined separately, orally, and in writing, in many different standards every year!

told that such visits were actually paid "last year in the case of several schools in Calcutta." Only *several* schools, only *in Calcutta*, were favoured. But there are only 22 schools in all in Calcutta, against 35 in the suburbs and in Mofussil and Hill stations. This surely is not doing the work well. I have no quarrel with the Inspectors themselves. I know them to be earnest, hardworking men; but the task assigned them is more than they can perform. All other questions sink into insignificance before this. In revising the Code, Government could hardly improve the wording of any of the paragraphs dealing with this matter; but it should certainly provide the means as well as the paragraphs for thorough inspection. The Code fails entirely in its object as long as these paragraphs are virtually dead-letter. "Sine pennis volare haud facile est." "If public money," I repeat, "were spent for no other educational purpose than to provide efficient inspection in every conceivable department, I am sure no better expenditure would be possible."

The Inspectors need not conduct the annual examinations at all. There is already an arrangement for examining the highest standards of primary and middle schools for scholarships. These ought to suffice for the annual examination, and the advantage will be three-fold. (1) At present the fourth and the seventh standards are subjected to two examinations, one at the hands of the Inspector and the other at the hands of the "Scholarship examiners," and the former is, in the case of 17 schools, within a month of the latter, while in the case of the others the interval is of various lengths either before or after, and a pupil might win his scholarship before he can be examined or even seen by the Inspector in his then standard. This inconsistency is in itself sufficient to show the superfluity of the Inspector's annual examination of the fourth and the seventh standards. (2) There would be no formal examination of the other standards, the top standard being taken as the representative of each school, primary or middle. To subject children of seven and eight to a formal examination, and goad them to strain their powers by telling them that their promotion depends on their passing, amounts to a cruelty unworthy the times. The efficiency of the first, second, third, fifth, and sixth standards (if the present number of standards be retained) could be secured by frequent visits on the part of the Inspectors, who might sometimes take their turn at the lectern. (3) There would then be *one* examination for all schools, and the test would be a fair one, whereas at present it is very difficult to secure a uniform standard in the questions asked at the different schools. This plan would go very far to minimise many of the evils unavoidable in a system of payment by results.

The examination, again, should not be only a written one. A written examination, of course, is the best test of accuracy, of memory, of the power of composition, of neatness in expression, of precision in thought, and of fulness of knowledge; but, as Mr. J. G. Fitch, author of the well-known "Lectures on Teaching," said before the College of Preceptors in November 1885, "An oral examination, if wisely conducted, furnishes a much truer test of brightness and mental activity, of promptitude, of fluency and command of language, and of the sympathy and interest with which the student has gone about his work. Moreover, it is possible in an oral examination, to shape and adapt successive questions to the previous answers of the student, and to the plan on which he has been taught. A true estimate of the worth and solidity of his knowledge, and of the spirit in which it has been acquired, can best be arrived at by a judicious combination and use of both kinds of test." The advantage of this kind of examination in all subjects is acknowledged in the Code; but here again the Inspectors have not time enough to attend properly to the matter. There is a sort of hurried examination in elocution, and pupils are asked to point out a few places on blank geographical maps; but anything like a thorough oral test in the grammatical structure of sentences, in geography, history, elementary science, &c., as adopted in England and Germany, is out of the question in the case of our hard-worked Inspectors, but could be easily arranged for at the scholarship examinations.

I advocate extension of scope in these examinations in consequence of the changes I have suggested in the ordinary curriculum. My reviewer, of course, objects for a similar reason, especially to the changes in the primary examination. But the Code provides already that the Inspector shall examine in science (or object lessons as it is called in the primary school), and as to history, the primary examination would, of course, be confined to "characters and incidents" as proposed before and now, and not include a knowledge of chronology, for it is *this* that I said a child "should not be taught till it has reached the higher stage of standard V." I invite the special attention of Government to pages 120—122 of the *January Review*, where I have worked this question out.

The object of all reform is to obtain the best results with the least expenditure, and all the alterations suggested above, are for the economy of time and trouble rather than of money, or rather of time and trouble which are equivalent to money. There is, however, one method of economising time and energy in educational circles which cannot be fully dealt with in the course of this article. It is the saving of the precious time of our little ones by helping them

to learn to read through the medium of phonetic spelling. The wider question of a complete reform of English spelling I dealt with in these pages in 1883 and 1884; though the adoption of the reform in India is not possible before its adoption in England. But many experiments have shown that children can be taught to read and write words spelled in the ordinary way much faster and better by being put through phonetic reading books first. Through the efforts of the English Spelling Reform Association, children in England are not any longer tested in spelling in the first two standards, and if this example were followed in Bengal, it might be the first stepping-stone for much advance in this direction. I have not space to say more on this subject, but will only quote the opinions of some of the Vice-presidents of the Association on the subject of English spelling:—

Max Müller, Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford:—"The unhistorical, unsystematic, unintelligible, unteachable, but by no means unamendable spelling now current in England . . . can this unsystematic system be allowed to go on for ever? Is every English child, as compared with other children, to be mulcted in two or three years of his life in order to learn it? Are the lower classes to go through school without learning to read and write their own language intelligently? And is the country to pay millions every year for this utter failure of national education? Language is not made for scholars and etymologists; and if the whole race of English etymologists were really to be swept away by the introduction of a spelling reform, I hope they would be the first to rejoice in sacrificing themselves to so good a cause."

Rev. A. H. Sayce, Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford:—"We are sometimes told that to reform our alphabet would be to destroy the etymologies of our words. Ignorance, again, is the cause of so rash a statement. The science of etymology deals with sounds, not with letters, and no true etymology is possible when we do not know the exact way in which words are pronounced. The whole science of comparative philology is based on the assumption that the ancient Hindus and Greeks and Romans and Goths spelled pretty nearly as they pronounced; in other words, were the happy possessors of real alphabets. It lies with ourselves to determine whether we shall be equally happy."

Rev. W. W. Skeat, Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge, author of the great Etymological Dictionary:—"From pure love of etymology, and in the interests of the same, I should like to see our present spelling utterly smashed."

Dr. Murray, Past President of the Philological Society, who is engaged upon the fifteen years' task of editing the great dictionary of the Society :—"The traditional and pseudo-etymological spellings of the last few centuries are the direst foes with which genuine etymology has to contend."

Mr. H. Sweet, M. A., Past President of the Philological Society, and author of the Clarendon Press "Hand-book of Phonetics," &c. :—"It is mainly among the class of self-taught dabblers in philology that etymological spelling has found its supporters. All true philologists and philological bodies have uniformly denounced it as a monstrous absurdity."

The question of boarding schools in the plains is already a closed one. There is no doubt as to the answer ninety-nine out of every hundred men would give if asked: "Had you the desire and the means to send your child to a boarding school, would you select a hill school, or one in the plains?" My reviewer declares that there is an increasing demand for large boarding schools *in the plains*. This is not a statement founded on fact. I know that in the case of free schools, there is very often "not room to hold the number who seek admission into them, not merely as free scholars, but as pay pupils, the latter having to wait in many cases for more than a year from the time of their registration as applicants before they can be taken in," because the fees, when charged at all, are very low, and the advantage is all on one side. But a child is very rarely, if ever, removed from a hill-school to a plain-school when a parent can afford to pay the hill-school fees, whereas several parents every year remove their children from plain-schools and send them to the hills, even at a great sacrifice to themselves, and almost invariably with the satisfaction of seeing them soon in a much improved physical condition.* "As a matter of fact," says my reviewer, "an attempt was recently made to transfer a portion of one of our local boarding schools to a hill station, but the result was a heavy pecuniary loss and a considerable falling away in the attendance." One reason of the "pecuniary loss" in this attempt was that the scheme was undertaken with the feeling that it was a risk. Other causes are difficult to prove, and it is no business of mine to prove them; but I have the means of proving that there was certainly no "falling away in attendance," while the number on the rolls increased, and many boys who were

* One who has managed for years both hill and plain schools, writes to say: "My own opinion regarding the comparative health of boys on the plains and on the hills is very decided, that it is decidedly better on the hills. The change in the physique of boys after a few months of hill climate is great in every case, without exception; in some cases it is simply astonishing."

day-scholars became boarders. This experiment, if it showed anything at all, very distinctly showed the general belief that large boarding schools are better on the hills than on the plains. It is needless, however, to re-open a question that was settled years ago. When I said that Government-aided boarding schools should all be in the hills, I should, perhaps, have made an exception in favour of *free* schools, though even in *their* case the question is one only of funds. If there were no large boarding schools supported in the plains, there would be more money to spend on the hill institutions, and there is no question as to the advantage in the end. Small boarding schools are not much more than families, and since sanitary arrangements can be easily made perfect and supervision easily provided, they need no aid from Government. I have shown in my former article how large boarding schools were called into existence in England and that they are fast losing their popularity because the need for them is passing away. They have played exactly the same part in India; but here they are not unnecessary yet, because there are so many men who have to work where no schools can be opened, and these must send their children to boarding schools far away. They will be all the better pleased to find that they can with the same expenditure give the children the benefit of a hill climate. But educated parents in India are slowly, yet surely, following the example of educated parents in England, in keeping their children *at home* if they are within easy reach of a good day school, for a boarding school, however well conducted, "cannot supply all the advantages that exist in a small and well regulated household."

Yet, why is it that the influence of a good family is better than the influence of a good boarding school? It would take more space than I have at disposal to enter fully into this question; but one or two important points must be mentioned. There is, first of all, more direct and more frequent communion between the elder and the younger members in a home than in a school. The result of this is to make the younger ones less constrained in their manner and more at ease in their language. A home, again, seldom has more than ten children to one adult, and in consequence, if my reviewer's view be right, there ought to be a great deal of "opposition and mistrust." This is not the case though. On the contrary, the freedom of communion, the "close surveillance," the anxious concern so striking in a good family, are just the very things that produce a healthy tone, the junior members getting to respect and trust the seniors, and the happy ways and voices of the little ones making the elder hearts less old and the older thoughts less hard. If, then, we want our boarding schools to have some of these advantages, we must construct them on a similar scale. Despotism is

despotism, and a man who can be a despot over fifty will be five-times as despotic over ten. We do not want five despotic masters in a boarding school instead of one despotic master assumed ; but where one master for fifty boys can "preserve a high standard of morality and good feeling," surely five masters among the same number of boys will be five times as successful. I have had the pleasure of working a large plain school in this way. There were no monitors, no præpositi, no pupil-teachers ; there was no spying on the part of the masters, no slyness on the part of boys, and of course nothing bearing the slightest resemblance to "opposition and mistrust." Those who were my colleagues will bear me out when I say that we enjoyed the full confidence and respect of the boys. We had learnt at the outset to

Be to their faults a little blind
And to their virtues very kind :

and, by personal example and frequent companionship, we succeeded in winning them from many a fault that the rod would not have thrashed out, and monitors would have been unable to suppress. But the authorities saw fit to reduce the number of resident masters, and the good we had done was rapidly undone. Many a monitor has publicly declared his belief in the uselessness of the arrangement that placed him in a thoroughly false position. In Mozley's "Reminiscences" we find him saying, "Having been a monitor in my house most of my time, I can answer for the failure of the system. It was quite powerless to prevent an immense amount of cruelty and worse wickedness. The elder boys did fag. So far the system failed, and so far good was done. But the louts, the brutes, the strong ruffians, fagged too, and that with a wanton cruelty far beyond what would have been possible under legitimate fagging. It really was as if sheep and wolves had been forced into the same fold, under the idea that the sheep would acquire the art of self-defence, and the wolves learn to pity and spare. I have admitted that the spontaneous fermentation of this mass was working towards a cure. But it was by sending away the lambs sorely wounded and the wolves no tamer than they had come." But it is unnecessary to multiply quotations.

At one time, too, the school I speak of was almost closed by a panic. One of the plagues of the plains swept through the neighbourhood, scattered masters and boys in all quarters, and left me alone with only eight boys. The two great lessons to be learnt from my experience in this school are, (1) that a healthy boarding school must be on the hills ; and (2) that a healthy tone can only be secured when the school resembles a home.

For this, of course, we need men of the right stamp, who have proved their worth in the school-room and in the

playground, not in an examination paper. I have dwelt on this point before, and my reviewer is content to let my words stand with regard to boarding-school masters.

But he sees no reason for my objecting to the paragraphs in the Code that require applicants for certificates to have passed University examinations. The passing of such examinations is assumed by him as "evidence that a teacher possesses a certain amount of knowledge." We are told, "the universal practice of admission by examination exists with regard to every other learned profession," and that I seek that teachers whose work mainly concerns the imparting of knowledge, should "be exempted from the necessity of affording any proof that they possess the knowledge themselves which they are expected to give to others." The argument from analogy does not hold. A lawyer is not a lawyer if he does not know law, and his knowledge of law can be tested by written examinations. A medico is not a medico if he does not know medicine, and his knowledge of medicine can be tested by written examinations. A theologian is not a theologian if he does not know theology, and his knowledge of theology can be tested by written examinations. A teacher is not a teacher if he does not know teaching; but his knowledge of teaching *cannot* be tested by examinations. He may indeed show in an examination, like the diploma examinations of the London College of Preceptors, that he understands the various stages of mental development, and is acquainted with the written "methods" of other teachers; but even that will not show that he knows how to impart his knowledge, and, further, that is just the sort of examination that teachers applying for certificates in Bengal are *not* expected to pass.

Moreover, as Dr. Kynaston of Cheltenham shows in the *Times* newspaper, "That subtle influence over boys which characterises a good disciplinarian is a quality which cannot be imparted by lectures. We cannot tell how it is acquired." The only real proof that a teacher can give that he has chosen the right profession for himself, is the successful management and tuition of a class. There will be a nameless something in his manner that will show that he is the right man in the right place. Dr. Buchheim, writing to the *Times* a few days after Dr. Kynaston, says: "There is an excellent way of testing the teaching capacity, at least, of a man—by making him explain to a class, in presence of a Commission, certain topics belonging to his special department. This practice, carried on on the principle of 'Hic Rhodus, hic salta,' is frequently, if not generally, resorted to in Germany, and might with advantage be adopted by the English Universities granting diplomas in the science of education." "It is absolutely necessary that the

teacher should give evidence of his qualifications," or rather, as Dr. Buchheim puts it, "of his teaching capacity"; but the only evidence worth taking is the evidence of successful work. It is successful work that shows the born teacher, because the born teacher must succeed in his work. But the only means, virtually, that the Inspector has at present of judging of a teacher's success, is the result of the annual inspection! We all know that the first thing necessary for securing a good result at an examination is to secure good material to operate upon. But if the teacher guides the intelligent, arouses the lazy, interests the apathetic, and educates the dull, he has been successful, he has proved himself worthy of the cloth.

It is not possible to *define* a good teacher. In my former article I tried to describe one, and parts of my description I have repeated here. I will gather up, by way of emphasizing them, the other points in my description of good teachers—"not intellectual machinery for the dealing forth of epitomized knowledge"; "thoughtful men, who are in sympathy with, and earn the respect and affection of, their pupils, while training them to think and act accurately, and succeed in sending into the world enlightened men and useful citizens"; "not mere bookmen, with little or none of the accuracy in observation and ability to feel for, and with, and like their pupils that are the chief factors in the making of a good teacher"; "whose influence on their pupils is healthy"; "who work for the love of the work, not drudge for the sake of the pay." Not one of these is meant to be a *definition*; they are only characteristics singled out for the recognition of the persons described. We all know that the most familiar terms are the most difficult to explain, and, just as a good teacher cannot be found by written examinations, he certainly cannot be hit off by a definition.

But a teacher, however naturally qualified he might be for the work of education at the outset, will gain much from the experience of others who have been long at work, and therefore it is that it seems most advisable to substitute an "educational student" system for the present pupil-teacher system, which my reviewer seems to have found useful somewhere, but which six Principals of my acquaintance have strongly condemned, and which the Easter Conference of the National Union of Elementary Teachers held at Portsmouth indicates to be doomed in England. The *Educational Times* reporting the meeting remarks, "The whole matter may just as well be decided as other cases of the demand and supply of education are decided, and there will be no need of a pupil-teacher system at all." We might, instead, have in our large educational establishments, a certain number of teachership apprentices. It is the opinion of many practical

men, that anything like a techincal education given in a school is of no commercial value whatever, and that the only way to make a boy a printer or a dyer is to enter him in a large printing or dyeing concern as an apprentice. I believe that they are right. The education in our schools should take into consideration the intellectual needs and not the after-life of a pupil. After his mind has received a proper amount of development, he might follow his bent in selecting a calling, and seek special education in the branch he selects in the only place where he can get it, and that is in a thriving concern. If he would be a teacher he should join a teaching establishment, and closely attend to the directions of a veteran, noting carefully how the veteran himself applies the principles he lays down, and after a while practising the principles himself under the superintendence of his chief, who should point out his failures, encourage his efforts, and save him from wrong conclusions that will injure his pupils and spoil the work of his life. A training college, pure and simple, affords no means for the practice that is so necessary for perfection, and it is worse than a mistake to maintain schools solely for the purpose of trying "prentice hands." When an apprentice has gained enough information and experience in what Americans aptly call "practical pedagogics" to be entrusted with the sole management of a class, he should come under the close attention of the Inspectors at their visits, all unannounced, and if his work is found to be satisfactory, he should receive a certificate of *efficiency*. Thus in a short time, without lavish expenditure, good educators would be secured, and the work of our schools would be more successful than at present.

G. S. GASPER.

ART. IX.—COMPARATIVE PENAL LAW.

IT is not my intention in these articles to attempt anything approaching to an exhaustive review of Comparative Penal Law, a subject which would require several volumes, but to note the differences in the laws of various countries on certain matters of great interest, not only to lawyers and jurists, but also to the general public; to seize and discuss all salient features of contrast, and in particular to point out in what respects the English differs from the Indian law, which appears to be more in accord with the most advanced doctrines of modern criminalists, and in what points either or both may, with advantage to the community, be amended or ameliorated. It is impossible to discuss such subjects in an adequate manner without exercising the faculty of criticism; but approval or disapproval in any particular case is intended to be abstract rather than concrete; approval or the reverse of some particular law, system or practice, rather than of the individuals whose duty it is to administer the same. At the same time it has never been maintained that the decisions of the highest courts, whether English, American, Continental, or Indian, are not open to fair criticism. I trust it may not be considered presumptuous in me, if I venture to think that a study of Comparative Penal Law has put into my hands the necessary materials for practical discussion, and for making some suggestions which may be considered useful by English as well as by Indian statesmen and legislators.* I approach the subject purely *more academico*, and with the most sincere desire to avoid anything that may savour of acrimonious or polemical controversy.

Punishments and Consequences of Conviction.

There are one or two punishments in vogue in Continental countries, which are said to have an extremely salutary affect, and the English Legislature would do well to consider whether

* I was informed by a well-known lawyer in England, that English barristers are almost to a man ignorant of any system of law but their own, and that even elementary information about the Laws of India or other countries need not be avoided in any discussion concerning them. I have gone through the Criminal Codes of France, Belgium, Germany, Hungary, Denmark, Holland, China, New York, Louisiana and Italy, &c. I found it quite impossible to procure the books I required in London, and, by the advice of Sir Henry Maine, I applied to the Ministry of Justice in Paris, which comprises a special department for the translation into French of foreign Codes and works on foreign Law. I am deeply indebted to the kindness and courtesy of the President of the Committee of Foreign Legislation, who has procured for me the books I required. The works on Russian, Spanish, and Portuguese Law had to be obtained from St. Petersburg, Madrid, and Lisbon respectively, and I have not had time to utilise them (with the exception of a portion of a Commentary on the Penal Code of Russia) in the preparation of these articles.

they might not be incorporated in the English Criminal Law. These are political or civic degradation, deprivation of office, and what may be termed publicity of judgment. In Germany,* a sentence of reclusion deprives the person sentenced of the right to serve in the army or navy, or to exercise any public functions, the offices of advocate, attorney, notary, juror, and alderman, among others, being considered as public. Such a sentence (as well as any sentence of imprisonment exceeding three months) may also carry with it deprivation of all civil rights. Civic degradation is in some respects a comprehensive punishment, and far-reaching in its results. In the French and Belgian† Penal Codes, it is defined as (1) exclusion of the condemned from all public offices: (2) deprivation of the right to vote, to wear any decoration, and generally of all civic and political rights: (3) incapacity to be sworn as an expert, to witness documents, or to depose in a Court of Justice except for the purpose of giving simple information: (4) incapacity to be tutor, curator, &c.: (5) deprivation of the right to carry arms, to belong to the national guard, to serve in the French armies, to keep or be employed in any school.

In France civic degradation is a necessary corollary of a conviction for a crime (as opposed to a delict); in Russia and Germany such punishment is left to the discretion of the Court. Again, civic degradation in Russia does not, as in France and Germany, entail a disability to carry arms or to serve in the national army;† but the consequences of condemnation to imprisonment with hard labour are very severe, including, as they do, loss of certain family rights, loss of property, (which at once passes to the heirs) and after release, compulsory residence in Siberia. But there is one point in which European countries might well imitate the Russian Code, namely, in permitting the husband or wife of such condemned person to procure a divorce from the ecclesiastical authorities. ||

The Dutch Penal Code§ deprives also of the right to exercise certain professions. The deprivation of rights is for life, when the imprisonment is for life; in other cases, it may be imposed for any term from two to five years. The Hungarian Penal Code|| contains some elaborate provisions regarding this form of punishment. Deprivation of employment and suspension

* German Penal Code, 31, 32. | † French Penal Code, 34; Belgian Penal Code 31.

† There may be special regulations of which I have no knowledge; nothing is said of such disability in the Penal Code.

‡ Russian Penal Code, 27. If the wife or husband follows the convict to the place of exile, no divorce can be demanded, unless the latter commits a fresh offence entailing loss of family rights.

§ Code Penal des Pays-Bas, (3rd March, 1881) Art. 28.

|| Hungarian Penal Code of Crimes and Delicts, 1878. This Code is considered, in many respects as a model Penal Code, and has been translated into French, by order of the French Government, and printed at the National Press, Paris, 1885.

of the exercise of political rights may be imposed as additional punishments in any case in which the principal punishment is imprisonment or detention in a state prison for six months or more: the court decides the duration of the incapacity, which may be from one to three years in the case of delicts, and from three to ten years in the case of crimes. Such a sentence deprives of all public offices, duties, salaries and pensions, and takes away the right to vote, to serve as a juror, to be an advocate, public notary, public teacher or guardian; moreover, the condemned person loses any public non-hereditary titles, national dignities or orders, and the right to wear any decoration of honour.* Art. 291 of the same Code enacts that when any person has caused the death of another by inexperience or negligence in his profession or occupation, or by non-observance of the rules relating thereto, the Court may prohibit him from exercising such profession or occupation altogether, or for a fixed time, as it thinks fit, and may order that any fresh authorisation shall depend on a new examination or other proof of the required capacity. Art. 310 enacts a similar provision in cases in which serious bodily harm has been caused by negligence of the kind alluded to. In England the College of Surgeons might take action in cases of criminal or grossly unprofessional conduct; but I believe the only statutory provision regarding deprivation of office as a consequence of conviction is contained in Chapter 23 of 33 and 34 Vict., of which the second section enacts, that a conviction for treason or felony, for which the sentence is death, penal servitude, or imprisonment with hard labour, or exceeding twelve months, determines the tenure of any office under the Crown, or any ecclesiastical benefice, or any office or emolument in any university or other corporation, or any pension or superannuation allowance payable out of the public funds, unless a pardon is received within two months after the conviction, or before the filling up of the office, place, &c., if given at a later period. In England, up till a comparatively recent date, certain forfeitures and other consequences used to follow on a conviction for treason or felony; but they were abolished by Statute 33 and 34 Vict. c. 23, s. 1, passed in the year 1870.† The New York Code, based for

* Hungarian P. C., 54-59.

† The opponents of forfeiture argued that such a sentence bore hardly on innocent relations. This objection is partly met in India by the concluding words of Sec. 62 of the Penal Code: "Whenever any person is convicted of an offence punishable with death, the Court may adjudge that all his property, movable and immovable, shall be forfeited to Government; and whenever any person is convicted of any offence, for which he shall be transported, or sentenced to imprisonment for a term of seven years or upwards, the Court may adjudge that the rents and profits of all his movable and immovable estate, during the period of his transportation or imprisonment, shall be forfeited to Government, *subject to such provision for his family and dependants as the Government may think fit to allow during such period.*"

the most part on English law, follows the Continental Codes in including suspension and forfeiture of political or civil rights in the list of punishments. By Art. 757 of the New York Penal Code, imprisonment in a state prison for any term less than life suspends all civil rights, and forfeits all public offices, and all private trusts, authority or power of the person sentenced. Some of the most modern Penal Codes give the courts the power of prohibiting the future exercise of a profession in the case of certain offences, which have been committed by the offender in the exercise of such profession. It may be said that in England, where the standard of professional honour is high, no such provision is called for; but with the higher education of the masses, which enables them to seek employment hitherto closed to them, with keener competition and a general increase in the severity of the struggle for life, the standard of professional, no less than that of commercial honour, has a tendency to fall or at least to suffer, and any provisions, which may prevent or minimize this result, can hardly be said to be unnecessary.

The incapacity to testify as a witness used to follow as a consequence of a conviction for treason, felony and all those misdemeanours known by the term *crimen falsi*! * For this latter class of offences it might be advisable to retain such incapacity, but it is the better opinion that it is safer to allow the courts to hear and consider the evidence *quantum valeat*. In some of the American states the disqualification to testify still exists, if the witness is objected to; in others, the evidence is admitted. It would be very dangerous to make a rigid rule forbidding the courts to hear such evidence, for the excluded person might possibly be the sole witness in a case of murder or some other heinous offence. Article 43 of the Russian Penal Code gets over the difficulty by including in the consequences of deprivation of rights, a disability to testify in a court of justice or in extra-judicial proceedings, *except in cases in which the evidence is absolutely indispensable*. The French and Belgian Codes allow such persons to depose only for the purpose of giving simple information.

The Italian Code contains two moderate punishments, known as *confinement* and *l'exil local*, the principle of which appears to be suitable to India and Ireland, if not to England also. By these punishments the convicted person is directed to live in a specified place, or in any place he pleases, provided that in either case the commune selected be not less than a certain distance from the commune where the offence was committed, or where the complainant and witnesses live. The

* Forgery, perjury, subornation of perjury, suppression of testimony by bribery, intimidation of witnesses, barratry, &c., Greenleaf, Evid., I, 373.

object of these provisions is to prevent released convicts from oppressing, annoying, or in any way taking vengeance on the complainant, witnesses or jurors. In India fear of such ulterior annoyance or oppression often prevents witnesses from coming forward to depose against any influential man or dangerous character. It appears from the *Mirror** that a punishment analogous to *lexil local* must have existed in England at least as late as the time of Edward II: "Inferior punishments, not capital, were these: mending the highways, causeways and bridges, setting in the pillory and stocks, abjuration of the realm, exile, banishment, either from the kingdom or some particular town, by prohibiting the entering into or going out of such a place, &c."

As the civilization of a country advances, punishments of a peculiar, cruel, disgraceful or retaliatory character have a tendency to disappear from its criminal laws. The laws of the Anglo-Saxon period were disfigured by the infliction of barbarous penalties, such as cutting off the feet or hands, the nose, ear, or upper lip, and even scalping †! In Bracton's time, the punishment for rape was on the *membrum pro membro* principle. ‡ Those guilty of arson were to be burnt, that they might suffer in the same manner in which they had offended. Fleta and Britton state that the punishment was death, if a person stole the value of twelve pence or more. In petty larcenies, as for stealing sheaves of corn in August, or pigeons or poultry, if the thing stolen was under the value of twelve pence, the offender was to be put in the pillory for an hour, and to be disabled from taking the oath of a juror, or being a witness. If the offender was a person of bad character, or offended out of mere malice, and not through want, (which was an extenuation, if not even a justification, adopted from the canon law), then he was to lose one ear and become infamous. For a second offence the justices might sentence him to death or to lose his other ear; for the third offence, great or small, death had to be inflicted § From the *Mirror* || it appears that arson, rape, murder, robbery, larceny above twelve pence, and burglary in cases not notorious, were all punished with hanging, while sodomites were buried alive. But the barbarity or severity of our forefathers is of little

* *Mirror*, ch. iv, s. 17.

† Laws of Canute, chap. 30. According to the *Mirror*, the sentences inflicted by Alfred were extremely severe. The reference to the laws of Canute is obtained from Reeves' Hist. of English Crim. Law, i, 27, note.

‡ "Corruptor puniatur in eo in quo deliquit; oculos igitur amittat, propter aspectum decoris, quo virginem concupivit; amittat et testiculos, qui calorem stupri induxerunt." Bract. 147 b. See Reeves, i, 481.

§ Wingate's Britt. p. 24. Reeves, i, 168.

|| *Mirror*, chap. iv, 10, 15. Reeves, i, 225.

practical interest in a consideration of the nature of punishments suitable for a civilized European country in this penultimate decade of the nineteenth century. But though cruel and vindictive punishments have almost entirely disappeared, it is advisable, in the opinion of many criminalists, to retain for certain offences punishments of a peculiar or of a more or less disgraceful character. The pillory and stocks, whipping, ducking,* and slitting nostrils are all common-law punishments. Of these whipping only still remains, but not in the case of females. It is stated in the last edition of Harris's Criminal Law,† that a female can *never* be whipped. I believe this is erroneous. It is a peculiar fact that a female can still be whipped for attempts to alarm the Queen, throwing missiles at her, &c.‡. In Denmark § the only females who can be whipped are girls from ten to twelve years of age. In France and Germany corporal punishment has been abolished, and M. Ernest Lehr states that this is so in Russia also, even the traditional punishment of the knout having been discontinued. || In the United States whipping was abolished by Act of Congress in 1839. Such punishments, then, as whipping, the pillory, and the stocks having been generally abolished on the ground of inhumanity, it was necessary to devise some means of inflicting some additional mark of disgrace or humiliation compatible with the humanity of the nineteenth century. Continental legislators have hit on the device of publishing the judgment in some conspicuous way. The *amende honorable* and public reprimand used to be punishments in Russia for laymen as well as ecclesiastics; they are still used in the case of the latter as measures of discipline. In France and Belgium, ¶ in certain cases, extracts from the judgment may be posted up in the chief town of the department in which the case is tried, in the commune in which the crime is committed, and in that where the condemned person lives. Generally speaking, all Continental Codes contain

* Ducking was the common law punishment of a common scold, the offender being "placed in a certain engine of correction called the trebucket, castigatory, or cucking stool, which in the Saxon language is said to signify the scolding-stool; though now it is frequently corrupted into *ducking*-stool, because the residue of the judgment is that, when she is so placed therein, she shall be plunged in the water for her punishment." Bl. Com. iv, 169.

† Harris' Principles of the Criminal Law, 4th Ed. by A. Agabeg, p. 491.

‡ 5 and 6 Vict. chap. 51.

§ Danish Penal Code, Art. 29.

|| It appears that corporal punishment is still inflicted in Russia on those not exempted from it, when a sentence of imprisonment cannot be carried out owing to the prisons being too full. So many days or months of imprisonment are converted into so many blows according to a regular scale of commutation. In China all punishments of blows may be redeemed by the payment of a fine.

¶ French P. C., 36; Belgian P. C., 18.

provisions by which the court may, in certain cases order that the judgment be published in whole or in part in such newspapers as it may direct. The offences, on a conviction for which such publication may be ordered, are generally offences involving some peculiar fraud or danger to the public, *e. g.* fraudulent bankruptcy, misappropriation by guardians, trustees, administrators, executors, directors of companies, selling commodities dangerous to life or health. It would be well if the courts in England had the power to direct publication of the judgment in cases of perjury, defamatory libel, aggravated extortion, sending threatening letters, and also on second convictions for adulteration of provisions, counterfeiting trade marks, indecent assault, and obtaining money by false pretences.

An examination of the various sorts of imprisonment and detention and prison regulations in vogue on the Continent and in America for the purposes of comparison with England, would be both instructive and useful ; but such a subject perhaps belongs more properly to a Prison Code than to a Penal Code. There is, however, one subject on which a word should be said, and that is the subject of enhanced punishment on re-conviction for certain offences.

La Récidive.

The question of recidivism has received much attention from continental jurists and criminalists, and they have placed a very salutary restriction on the power to inflict enhanced punishment. In France and Belgium an offender is not considered a recidivist, if more than three years have elapsed since his release from prison ; in Holland* a lapse of five years, and in Denmark† and Hungary‡ of ten years from such date prevents the infliction of any enhanced punishment. But in England it would seem that the enhanced punishment must be inflicted, no matter how great the lapse of time since the previous conviction, or rather the offender's release from prison. Under 24 and 25 Vict. c. 96, s. 7, the punishment for simple larceny, after previous conviction for felony, is penal servitude from five to ten years, or imprisonment not exceeding two years. Under sec. 8 of the same statute, the punishment is penal servitude from five to seven years, or imprisonment as above, for simple larceny or any offence made punishable as simple larceny by the Larceny Act after previous conviction for any indictable misdemeanour under the Larceny Act. For uttering, &c, counterfeit coin, after previous conviction for such crime, or previous conviction for a felony against a Coinage Act the punishment is penal servitude for life, or for not less than five years, or imprisonment not exceed-

* Dutch Penal Code, 421—423.

† Danish Penal Code, 61.

‡ Hungarian P. C. 338, 349, 371, &c.

ing two years. * The Indian Penal Code is marked by a similar defect, namely, that lapse of time does not prevent enhanced punishment, and instances are not uncommon in which offenders convicted of theft are sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, though years may have elapsed since their previous conviction. But in India the court is not *bound* to inflict a heavier punishment on an offender convicted for the second time. Sec. 75 of the Penal Code is as follows:—"Whoever, having been convicted of an offence punishable under Chap. XII. or Chap. XVII.† of this Code, with imprisonment of either description for a term of three years or upwards, shall be guilty of any offence punishable under either of those chapters with imprisonment of either description for a term of three years or upwards, *shall be subject* for every such subsequent offence to transportation for life, or to imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years." The words I have placed in italics show that it is not obligatory on the Court to impose enhanced punishment, and it is not the intention of the Legislature that a previous conviction should enormously enhance the heinousness of petty offences.‡ At the same time, though in continental countries the lapse of a certain prescribed period prevents an offender from being punished more severely for a second than for a first offence, the principle of *la récidive* has been extended to a large number of offences. The Russian and French Penal Codes are analogous in this respect. In Russia § recidivism is defined to be "the repetition of the same crime, or perpetration of another crime after a previous conviction." The offender must be sentenced to the maximum of the punishment incurred without prejudice to his liability to a more severe form of punishment (art. 132). So in France an enhanced punishment is incurred *in all cases*, either by prolongation of its duration, or the infliction of a more severe form of punishment. On the other hand, the German Code

* 24 and 25 Vict. chap. 29, sec. 12.

† Cap. XII deals with offences relating to coin and Government stamps. Chap. XVII relates to theft, extortion, robbery, dacoity, criminal breach of trust, receiving stolen property, house-breaking, &c.

‡ See 1 Calcutta L. R., 481. I have known of cases in India in which a petty theft of mangoes has been visited with a severe sentence, because the offender had been convicted of theft perhaps seven or eight years before. Mr. Justice Kernan, Judge of the Madras High Court, is reported to have once said to a prisoner, when sentencing him to a long term of imprisonment for theft: "If you are again brought up for stealing the pen-holder which I hold in my hand, I shall have no option but to sentence you to transportation for life." I venture to think the learned judge misinterpreted the section, while he overlooked the maxim "*De minimis non curat lex*," which is embodied in sec. 95 of the Penal Code: "nothing is an offence by reason that it causes, or is intended to cause, or is known to be likely to cause any harm, if that harm is so slight that no person of ordinary sense and temper would complain of such harm."

§ Russian Penal Code, 131.

resembles the English law in not regarding recidivism as a general ground for enhanced punishment, but only in the case of certain offences, as for example, theft, fraud, concealment of stolen property.* In England and India the principle, speaking broadly, is applied only to cases of larceny and offences relating to coin. In Hungary the principle is applied only on a *third* conviction for certain specified crimes and delicts,† but on a second conviction in the case of contraventions.‡ As has been remarked above, the lapse of ten years in the former case excludes the application of the principle, whereas in the latter case the lapse of two years *only* does so. In Holland these periods are respectively five years and one year. In England and India, though the number of offences for which enhanced punishment may be inflicted is comparatively small, yet the amount of enhancement is very large, whereas on the Continent the punishment can only be enhanced by periods varying under different codes from one-fourth to one-half of the maximum imprisonment for a first offence. The attention of English and Indian statesmen should be drawn to this striking difference. In concluding this subject I may note one instance in which a second conviction for any offence in England entails very severe consequences, far harsher, in my opinion, than the necessity of the case calls for. Persons sentenced to penal servitude can earn certain periods of remission; they are on ticket-of-leave during these periods, and if they commit any further offence, they are sent back to prison to serve out the unexpired portion of their sentences. During a late stay in England, I visited most of the convict prisons with the permission of the Home Secretary. It struck me that persons were sent back to prison for petty offences which should not have entailed any consequences beyond the punishment inflicted by the Justice for the particular act. The Governor of one of the prisons told me that a woman who had earned a year's remission was sent back, *in consequence of a conviction for drunkenness*, to serve out the unexpired term! It can hardly be alleged that the public interests called for so severe a measure.

Circumstances for consideration in awarding punishment.

Nearly all criminalists are agreed that *minima* punishments should be abolished, and that the law should merely fix the

* Germ. P. C. 244, 250, 255, 261, 264.

† Hung. P. C. (Crimes and delicts) 338, 349, 371, 381. These offences are theft, robbery, concealment of stolen property, and cheating.

‡ Hung. P. C. (Contraventions) 67, 79, 85, 89, 92, &c. Contraventions are for the most part petty police and sanitary offences. The following are some of the contraventions, a second conviction for which entails enhanced punishment: false weights and measures, begging, gambling, illegal practice of medicine, infraction of sanitary rules, &c.

maximum. To enact that a man shall not get less than a certain period of imprisonment is to fetter judicial discretion too much. Still it is open to question whether, in India and England, almost too much latitude is not given to judicial officers as regards the amount of punishment to be inflicted. Some codes attempt to avoid the evil by a more minute definition of the various degrees of heinousness or of aggravating circumstances. If every magistrate and judge had sound judgment and common sense, the rule of boundless discretion is no doubt the best; but the extraordinary differences in the punishments inflicted for the same acts both in England and India at least afford some grounds for thinking that too much latitude is left to the deciding officer.

The Hungarian, Danish, and other Continental codes fix, in many cases *minima* as well as *maxima* periods of imprisonment. The Danish Code* directs judicial officers, in determining the amount of punishment, to take into especial consideration on the one hand, the more or less dangerous character of the offence, particularly with regard to the time, place, and mode of execution, the importance of the object, the extent and amount of injury, and, on the other hand, the greater or less energy and determination shown by the accused, the motives of his act, his education, age and antecedents, his relation to the victim, and his conduct after the offence. The Hungarian Code† enacts that if aggravating circumstances preponderate in number and importance, the punishment will be the maximum or *something* near the maximum; in the converse case, it will be the minimum or something near the minimum. The inconvenience of fixing any minimum is evident from art. 92, which enacts, that if mitigating circumstances preponderate to such an extent that even the minimum punishment would be disproportionately severe, a smaller sentence may be inflicted, or even the punishment which is next inferior in degree. Art. 94 enacts that the duration of a long *détention préventive* (hajut) must be taken into consideration, whether in awarding fine or imprisonment. I fancy few magistrates in India need any such direction as this.

The Russian Penal Code‡ contains some very detailed directions regarding aggravating and extenuating circumstances. Culpability and punishment are enhanced by (1) the long premeditation of the offender: (2) his social position, profession, and degree of culture: (3) the illegality or immorality of his motives: (4) the number of persons with whom he acted: (5) his efforts to get rid of all obstacles:

* Danish P.C., 57.

† Hungarian P.C., 90, 91.

‡ Russian P.C. 129, 130, 134.

(6) the personal duties which he has trampled under foot : (7) the cruelty, indignity, or immorality of the acts with which the offence was prepared, accomplished, or accompanied : (8) the danger which the offence caused to one or more persons, or to society in general : (9) the evil or injury which has resulted : (10) the dissimulation or *obstinacy of denial* which he has shown during his trial, especially if he has sought to implicate innocent persons. In all these cases the judge can not only inflict the maximum, but he may even impose a more severe kind of punishment. The following circumstances are considered to lessen the culpability, and mitigate the punishment : (1) the fact that the offender, before he has become the object of suspicion, has given himself up, and sincerely confessed his crime with expressions of repentance : (2) the fact that, even after he is suspected *he has confessed* at the preliminary investigation : (3) true information concerning his accomplices : (4) the commission of the offence through levity, weakness of intellect, or a want of intelligence which has been abused by others : (5) strong provocation caused by insults or injuries inflicted by his victim : (6) the fact that he has been incited to the crime by the entreaties, orders, or bad example of his parents or others having legal authority over him : (7) the influence of overwhelming need, and want of all resource and means of work : (8) the fact of remorse or pity for the victims, during the commission of the offence, and his abstention from doing all the harm intended, and above all preventing his accomplices from doing so : (9) the fact that, after the crime, he has tried to avert the evil consequence, to repair the harm done, or to restore any gain. In these cases the minimum punishment, or even one of a lower degree may be imposed. The Louisiana Code of Criminal Procedure * also contains some useful rules. Circumstances to be considered in alleviation are (1) the minority of the offender : (2) his old age : (3) his condition, *e. g.*, wife, apprentice : (4) the order of a superior military officer : (5) the fact that the offence was committed under a combination of circumstances, and under the influence of motives which will probably not recur either with respect to the offender or to any other : (6) the fact that the offence was caused by great provocation : (7) the state of health and the sex of the delinquent must be considered in the nature and duration of the punishment the following are to be considered as circumstances of aggravation : (1) if the person committing the offence was, by his office or condition, obliged to prevent it : (2) if he held any other public office : (3) if his education, fortune and profession

* Louisiana, C.P.C. 431-435.

placed him in a situation in which his example would probably influence the conduct of others : (4) when the offence was committed with premeditation : (5) or in consequence of a plan formed with others : (6) when the defendant endeavoured to induce others to join in committing the offence : (7) when a trust was broken, or such trust afforded easier means of committing the offence : (8) when in the commission of the offence, any other injury was offered than that necessarily suffered by the offence itself ; such as wanton cruelty, or humiliating language, in cases of personal injury : (9) when it was attended with the breach of any other moral duty than that necessarily broken in committing the offence ; such as personal injury accompanied by ingratitude : (10) when the injury was offered to one whose age, sex, office, conduct, or condition entitled him to respect from the offender : (11) when the injury was offered to one whose age, sex, or infirmity rendered him incapable of resistance : (12) when the general character of the defendant is marked by those passions or vices which lead to the commission of the offences of which he has been convicted.

It is hardly necessary that a modern code should elaborately detail all grounds of extenuation and aggravation : but it cannot be denied that indications, such as the above, are calculated to be extremely useful to judicial officers, and tend to a greater uniformity of punishment.

Lastly, as regards the number of different sorts of punishment, they are without doubt too numerous in some Continental Codes. But in one respect they are too few both in England and India. A magistrate in India thinks that a sentence of imprisonment is necessary, but not one of rigorous imprisonment. All he can do is to inflict simple imprisonment, which to an educated man is almost worse, as he is compulsorily idle. Moreover he is kept in the same jail-yard as the worst offenders. This is perhaps rather hard on educated native gentlemen sentenced for comparatively trivial offences. In Hungary there are four sorts of imprisonment, *la maison de force*, *la prison d'état*, *la reclusion*, and *la prison*. Other codes have *la détention*. In some cases imprisoned persons can have their own food brought in at their own expense : in others they can choose any form of work they like. Then there are considerable variations in the rules of management and discipline. In Bengal there is one set of rules for all prisoners, including those imprisoned in default of payment of fine. In England, again, the proportion of prisoners, who are given the privilege of being treated as first-class misdemeanants, is infinitesimal ; but this exceptional treatment is accorded in some American States to all those who are sentenced to simple imprisonment. Art. 92 of the Louisiana Penal Code enacts that "simple imprisonment

consists simply in the confinement of the person within the walls of the prison, the prisoner being debarred neither the use of books, nor the means of writing, nor the society of such persons as may desire to see him during the hours established by the general regulations for the prison." There can be no doubt that both in England and India some intermediate sort of imprisonment is required, under which a prisoner might be allowed certain privileges, such as a better diet at his own expense, more frequent visits from friends, and the use of his books, artisan's tools, &c. At the same time, I should point out that the so-called hard labour in some Indian jails is not hard labour at all: what struck me most in going over some of the convict prisons in England was, the tremendous severity of discipline, work, and general régime as compared with any of the Indian jails with which I am acquainted.

CRIMINAL LIABILITY.

Ignorance of law no defence.

The maxim *ignorantia juris non excusat* is derived from the Roman jurisprudence, and it appears to me that it has been too readily and blindly accepted, or at least pushed too far, by English lawyers. The rule, it is true, is based on considerations of public policy, but there may be cases in which those very considerations should exclude its too rigid application. The rule often works harshly when applied to acts which are merely *mala prohibita*. It has even been ruled * that a foreigner charged in England with an offence committed there cannot excuse himself on the ground that he did not know he was doing wrong, the act not being an offence in his own country. But, as pointed out in article 33, Stephen's Digest (Crimes and Punishments), ignorance of the law is relevant to the question whether an act which would be a crime, if accompanied by a certain intention or other state of mind, and not otherwise, was in fact accompanied by that intention or state of mind or not. Thus it is an adequate defence for a man charged with larceny to show that, through a misapprehension of law, he honestly believed the property to be his † The distinction may be briefly stated as follows: ignorance of the law, which prevents a man from entertaining the intent necessary for a criminal act, will excuse him; but ignorance that the law punishes a certain act is no excuse. The provision on the point in the Hungarian Penal Code ‡ is that ignorance, or a *wrong interpretation* of the law, does not exclude criminal liability. The Danish Penal Code § enacts that punishment

* *R. v. Esop*, 7 C. and P., 456.

† *R. v. Hall*, 3 Car. and P., 409.

‡ Hung. P. C. 81.

§ Danish P. C., 42.

is not excluded by ignorance of the law, by a false opinion that an act forbidden by the law is permitted or even commanded by the conscience or religion, or conversely, that an act commanded by the law is not permitted on similar grounds, or even by the nature of the offender's motives or object. The case of *R. v. Wagstaffe* (10 Cox, C. C., 530) appears to present a mixed question of law and fact. The defendants belonged to a sect calling themselves "Peculiar People," and were charged with manslaughter, as they had neglected to provide medical aid for a sick child. They considered it wrong and useless to send for a physician, as showing no faith in Providence. Willes, J., not believing in the doctrines of these people, still thought that "this was a case where affectionate parents had done what they thought best for the child, and had given it the best of food," and the jury acquitted them. In consequence of this acquittal an Act of Parliament (31 and 32 Vict. c. 122, s. 37) was passed making it penal for a parent to neglect to provide food, medical aid, &c. for his child, "whereby the health of such child shall have been, or shall be likely to be, seriously injured." In a subsequent case of the same kind, the Court of Criminal Appeal held that, in consequence of the statute, the indictment could be maintained. Bishop remarks that the language of the judges implies that, but for the statute, there would have been no offence.

There is one point in which the maxim has been pushed to an absurd length, and that is, that every one is supposed to possess knowledge concerning the most recently passed statutes. Formerly every Act took effect from the first day of the session in which it was passed 33 Geo. III. c. 13 enacted that its operation should begin from the day when it received the royal assent. The former fiction of law was carried to such an absurd extent, that a statute passed at a late period of the session actually rendered invalid annuities granted four months before.* Wilberforce remarks that this decision certainly went beyond the old theory, which was that "as soon as the Parliament hath concluded anything, the law intends that every person hath notice thereof, for the Parliament represents the body of the whole nation."† Both in England and America statutes are operative in every part of the country immediately they take effect. This has led to some extremely harsh and indefensible decisions in criminal cases. In one case a vessel sailed in disobedience of an embargo Act, but so soon after it was passed that it was impossible the master could have known anything about it. It was nevertheless held that he violated the Act without legal excuse! Comment is superfluous. This decision

* *Latless v. Holmes*, 4 T. R. 660. See Wilberforce's Statute Law, p. 155.

† 4 Inst. 26.

may accord with the letter of the maxim *novæ constitutio futuris formam imponere debet, non præteritis*, but it certainly is antagonistic to its spirit. There are even cases, which it is unnecessary to detail here, in which an act, legal at the time of doing it, has been made unlawful by some subsequent enactment. The English legislature should adopt the principle established by the Code Napoléon, namely, that laws take effect from the time when the public may reasonably be supposed to know of their existence, regard being had to the course of the post, the time of publication, and other matters. No change appears to be necessary in India, where the public really are given far greater opportunities than they have in England of acquainting themselves with, and criticising proposed legislative measures. Even after an Act is passed, it cannot come into operation until it has been thrice published in the Gazette, and even so the date of commencement of operation is generally fixed at some three to six months after its passing.

Mistake of Fact.

Ignorance or mistake in point of fact exempts from criminal liability in almost all countries. Bishop says: "To punish a man who has acted from a pure mind, in accordance with the best lights he possessed, because, misled while he was cautious, he honestly supposed the facts to be the reverse of what they were, would restrain neither him nor any other man from doing a wrong in the future; it would inflict on him a grievous injustice, would shock the moral sense of the community, would harden men's hearts, and promote vice instead of virtue." As is remarked by Hale,* "where there is no will to commit an offence, there can be no transgression." The German Code† enacts that when the doer of an act is ignorant of the existence of circumstances which make it criminal or aggravate its criminality, he is not liable, unless, in the case of negligent or imprudent acts, the ignorance is the result of negligence or imprudence. The French Code contains no analogous provision, but that the doctrine may be applied may be inferred from a number of sections,‡ and, as a matter of fact, it is applied. In Russia,§ accidental error or mistake of fact relieves from responsibility: but in certain cases the Court may impose an ecclesiastical penance.

Under the head of Mistake of Fact, the laws of different countries do not appear to present any salient contrasts; but the case of homicide, committed under a mistake as to facts,

* Hale, P. C. I, 15.

† German Penal Code, 59.

‡ French Penal Code, 60-63, 83, 96, 99, &c.

§ Russian Penal Code, 99.

demands the attention of Indian judges. Bishop lays it down that "if one has *reasonable cause to believe* the existence of facts which will justify a killing, he is legally guiltless of the homicide. . . . It is the doctrine of reason, and sufficiently sustained in adjudication that, notwithstanding some decisions apparently adverse, whenever a man undertakes self-defence, he is justified in acting on the facts as they appear to him. If without fault or carelessness he is misled concerning them, and defends himself correctly according to what he supposes the facts to be, the law will not punish him; though they are in truth otherwise, and he has really no occasion for the extreme measure." A very peculiar case—at least peculiar to those living in European countries—is referred to at length by Bishop. In 1874, an Indian was tried in Washington Territory for the murder of another Indian. The defence was, that he committed the homicide to save his wife from being killed through a pernicious power of the deceased. Evidence was introduced to show that, in the language of Greene, J. in his charge to the jury, "the deceased Doctor Jackson was reputed to be a *musatchee tomaawos* man, a bad doctor man, a sorcerer, a man able at his will to bring unseen evil agencies to bear upon the bodies of the living; that he thus possessed the power of life and death over persons even at a distance from him, and over defendant's wife in particular; that in defendant's presence he threatened, by use of this evil power to destroy the life of defendant's wife; that in the presence of defendant, he professed and claimed that he, by means of this power, caused an actual sickness of defendant's wife, of which she lay dangerously ill at the time of his own death; that in defendant's presence he threatened he would cause this illness to terminate in her death; and that the only means of saving the life of defendant's wife was by killing this man, who claimed to wield over her such subtle and terrible power." It appeared in evidence that the defendant, and with him all his tribe, was born into the belief in *musatchee tomaawos*, and this belief controlled him in the homicide. The learned judge charged the jury, that the law permitted one to kill another to save his wife's life, which the latter was in the act of taking away; and, though they would not themselves credit the deceased with the power attributed to him, yet, if the defendant in good faith did, and this belief was a reasonable one in *him*, considering his education and surroundings, it would furnish him, under the circumstances proved, a good defence. And the jury acquitted him.* Bishop even goes further and thinks it sufficient if the belief be entertained in good faith. He says: "If the learned judge committed any error in this case, it was in requiring that

* Territory v. Fisk, Olympia Transcript, April 11th 1874.

the mistaken belief should be a reasonable one for the defendant to entertain." The records of our Courts in Bengal teem with cases in which men have been convicted and even hanged for acts such as the one described above. I am far from saying that this American case should be followed in its entirety in India: to do so might lead to a large increase of murders and crimes of violence, a belief in witchcraft being by no means uncommon in most parts of Bengal.* But the case is one that affords food for the most serious reflection, as it appears that there are several English cases, as well as a large array of American cases, to the same or a similar effect. It is for the Sessions Judges of Bengal, subject to the direction of the High Court, to consider whether, in these murders of sorcerers, witches, and similar cases, the question should not be put to the jury as to whether the accused was labouring under a mistake of fact, whether he in good faith believed he was exercising the right of private defence, and that he could have in no other manner averted the evil or harm he feared.

Accident.

Homicide by accident or misadventure used in early English law to be punishable by forfeiture of goods and chattels. Coke, Hale, and Blackstone try to explain this away by saying, that though it is but a man's misfortune, yet the king has lost a subject by the accident, and the man who caused the accident ought to have been more careful! Hence he forfeited his goods to the king, in order that in the future he should take greater care. But a statute of George IV † treated these attempts to put the best face on a bad law as valueless, and repealed the law altogether. Still the law of homicide in England is disfigured by a barbarous absurdity, namely, that the accidental commission of homicide, while committing a felony, is murder; and if the act intended was a misdemeanour or actionable wrong, the offence is only reduced to manslaughter. A. shoots at a tame fowl, not with intent to steal it, and accidentally kills a man. This is manslaughter. But if he intended to steal the fowl, then the accidental killing would be murder! ‡ Hobbes shows the absurdity of such a rule by saying, that if a boy, robbing an orchard, by chance falls from

* In Orissa almost all castes believe that certain men or women have the power to bring illness, disease, and death on them or their children, by making clay images of them and roasting them over a slow fire. Sometimes a *Hari* or *Chamar* midwife gains the reputation of having killed or harmed children by her charms. Such a woman is called a *Dain*, or *Kancha Danee*. I once got a petition under Sec. 500, Penal Code, from a woman, who complained that no one would employ her or speak to her, as some one had given out that she was a witch.

† 24 and 25 Vict. c. 100, s. 7. re-enacting 9, Geo. iv. c. 31, s. 10.

‡ Per King, C. J., *R. v. Woodburn*, 16 St. Tr., 80; also *R. v. Hodgson*, 1 Leach 6.

an apple tree, and breaks the neck of a man standing underneath, this is a murder—as if the boy had fallen of malice prepense! Hale says that, if a trespasser's arrow glance from a tree and kill a bystander to whom he intended no hurt, this is manslaughter, as trespass = *malum in se*. But if an unlicensed person shoot at a crow and kill a bystander, this is but chance and no offence, as the want of license is only *malum prohibitum*. This distinction is absurd, and at the present time, somewhat unintelligible, as trespass *per se* is not a criminal offence. The law should be placed on a more logical basis.

No doubt, in taking accident into consideration as a defence, it should be ascertained whether the act done was lawful or unlawful. This is done in India, sec. 80 of the Penal Code enacting that “nothing is an offence which is done by accident or misfortune, and without any criminal intention or knowledge *in the doing of a lawful act in a lawful manner, by lawful means, and with proper care and caution.*” In Russia,* accident is not a defence if the act was unlawful; and even where the act is lawful, the doer of the act is, in some cases, submitted to an ecclesiastical penance, “in order to calm his conscience.” There is no analogous provision in the French or German Codes; but it must be borne in mind that the continental codes generally give a very clear definition of criminal intention, and the special sections regarding accident are, after all, but the legislative embodiment or amplification of the well-known French maxim “*sans intention, point de délit.*” In Hungary† no act which is not committed voluntarily can be a crime, and the rule also applies to delicts, except where certain acts, resulting from negligence, are declared to be qualified delicts, in the special part of the Code. In France even accidental contraventions are punishable; for instance, a man is punishable for the *fact* of his chimney being on fire, quite apart from accident or even negligence. In Denmark,‡ acts committed from inattention or negligence, are not punishable, unless the law expressly declares otherwise. In England a certain amount of carelessness or negligence is criminal, and supplies the place of the direct criminal intent. Common instances are furious riding or driving, medical practice, use of dangerous things, dangerous machinery, dropping things on roads, care of dangerous animals, &c. These will more fitly be noticed under a different head. It is instructive to notice that under the Chinese Penal Code,§ a code framed by orientals for orientals, accident does not absolve from all punishment but only from the regular punish-

* Russian P. C. 93.

† Hungarian P. C. 75.

‡ Danish P. C., 43.

§ Chinese P. C., 292.

ment. "All persons who kill or wound others purely by accident shall be permitted to redeem themselves from the punishment of killing or wounding in an affray by the payment in each case of a fine to the family of the person deceased or wounded. By a case of pure accident is understood a case of which no sufficient previous warning could have been given, either directly, by the perceptions of sight and hearing, or indirectly, by the inferences drawn by judgment and reflection." The principle of this provision is some what analogous to that of the Russian Code alluded to above, imposing an ecclesiastical penance. *Grattez la Russe*, &c. In one or two other instances the Russian Penal Code seems to be more in accord with oriental than with occidental ideas.

Drunkenness.

According to the Civil law drunkenness aggravated a crime, as may be inferred from the maxims *qui peccat ebrius, luat sobrius* and *ebrietas crimen incendit*, &c. The traces of this severity are to be found in modern criminal law, though the doctrine of aggravation has been rejected. This doctrine, however, died a hard death, and in Beverley's case,* we find Lord Coke saying: "although he who is drunk is for the time *non compos mentis*, yet this drunkenness does not extenuate his act or offence, nor turn to his avail; but it is a great offence in itself, and therefore *aggravates his offence*, &c." The modern doctrine is that voluntary intoxication furnishes no excuse for crime. The idea that it is wrong to drink has by no means disappeared even at the present day, and it is from this idea that the doctrine has sprung. "When a man voluntarily becomes drunk," says Bishop, "there is the wrongful intent; and if, while too far gone to have any further intent, he does a wrongful act, the intent to drink coalesces with the act done while drunk, and for this combination of act and intent, he is criminally liable," and it was the common law that drunkenness supplied the necessary malice even in cases of homicide.

There are no special provisions as to drunkenness in most of the Continental Criminal Codes; the matter has to be considered in connection with the provisions regarding intent and consciousness. For instance the German Penal Code † speaks of "temporary or chronic malady," and the Hungarian Code ‡ of a "state of unconsciousness, or troubled state of the intellectual faculties." The case-law in France corresponds to

* 4 Co. 123b

† Germ. P.C., 51.

‡ Hung. P.C., 76.

the provisions in the Russian Code.* This code solves as follows the complex problem of the influence of drunkenness on culpability. If the drunkenness be involuntary and accidental, there is no offence; if it arises from imprudence recklessness, or from occasional or habitual intemperance, the offender is punishable for having made himself drunk, but he only incurs a *penal* responsibility for his acts in proportion as he was still in possession of his faculties; desired or intentional drunkenness, at the time of accomplishing a premeditated offence, aggravates culpability. As has been remarked, the German Penal Code contains no special section, and cases are decided according to the rule in Article 51, that the doer of an act is not punishable, when, at the time of doing it he was "deprived of knowledge." Neither do the codes of Denmark and Holland deal with the matter specially.

At the present moment it may be said that there is a considerable divergence between the law or practice regarding drunkenness in England and India, and this is perhaps an illustration of how, in some particulars, a pliant common law is superior to the rigidity and inflexibility of a code: The Indian law makes no excuse whatever, not even as regards the question of intent, for voluntary drunkenness. Sec. 86 is as follows: "In cases where an act done is not an offence, unless done with a particular knowledge or intent, a person who does the act in a state of intoxication shall be liable to be dealt with *as if he had the same knowledge* as he would have had if he had not been intoxicated, unless the thing which intoxicated him was administered to him without his knowledge or against his will." Some European criminalists (and notably the German jurist Mittermaier) are inclined to view drunkenness more leniently, and English judges have struck out a considerable departure from the doctrine of the common law, which regarded drunkenness as *in illo in se*. In several cases† it has been ruled that a drunken person is scarcely in a state to entertain an intent at all, either malicious or not. It can scarcely be said that a man who is drunk can entertain that kind of malice which is the chief ingredient of the crime of murder, and proceeds from a mind possessed of firmness of purpose. Though, therefore, drunkenness will not be any excuse for crime, yet if in the condition of the prisoner malice cannot be presumed, he can only be found guilty of manslaughter. Again it has been ruled in other cases that the fact of drunkenness may, owing to the particular circumstances of a case, rebut the inference of malice‡ Though drunkenness is no

* Russian P.C., 106.

† *R. v. Thomas*, 7 C. & P., 817; *R. v. Cruse*, 8 C. and P., 546.

‡ *R. v. Meakin*, 7 C. and P., 297.

excuse, it may be taken into account by the jury, when considering the motive or intent of a person acting under its influence. * Again, drunkenness is no excuse, but delirium tremens caused by drinking, and differing from drunkenness, if it produced such a degree of madness, even for a time, as to render a person incapable of distinguishing right from wrong, relieves him from criminal responsibility. † Even Hale laid it down that if an act is done in a fit of delirium tremens caused by voluntary drunkenness, it is not a crime. ‡ In America, too, the fact of drunkenness may be taken into consideration. It was held in Georgia, § that a charge that voluntary drunkenness affords no excuse for crime, but with the addition that the drunkenness might be considered by the jury like any other fact, to shed light on the transaction, was quite as favourable to the defendant charged with murder, as he could claim.

What are Indian judges to do in cases similar to the above? Consumption of ganja and bhang often produce a sort of oblivion, or a permanent or intermittent frenzy. It seems to me that such cases might be brought under the 84th section of the Penal Code, dealing with unsoundness of mind. If this cannot be done, either the severity of the 85th and 86th sections might be modified by the Legislature, or the executive Government should make a more frequent use of its power to pardon under section 401 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. The matter cannot be considered to be quite settled either in England or America. In America, for instance, the courts have differed as regards the defence of dipsomania. Some courts holding that the question, whether there is such a disease, and whether the act was committed under its influence, is not a question of law, but of fact for the jury. The matter appears to have been well put to the jury by Baldwin, J. in the case of *United States v. Roudenbush*: "Intoxication is no excuse for crimes when the offence consists merely in doing a criminal act, without regarding intention. But when the act done is innocent in itself, and criminal only when done with a corrupt or malicious motive, a jury may presume from the fact of intoxication that there was a want of criminal intention; that the reasoning faculty, the power of discrimination between right and wrong, was lost in the excitement of the occasion." But this doctrine of course does not prevent murder being committed by a drunken man, for a man may resolve to kill another, then drink to intoxication and accomplish his purpose, in which case he specifically intends to take life. The question

* *R. v. Gamlen*, 1 F. and F., 90.

† *R. v. Davis*, 14 Cox, C. C., 563

‡ 1 Hale P. C., 32-33.

§ 68 Ga., 612.

of intoxication is certainly one that will call for the attention of the Legislature on the next amendment of the Penal Code,

Presumption as to Coercion of Married Women.

The presumption that a married woman acts under the coercion of her husband when she commits an offence* in his presence, is one that dates from a time when married women were in a state of complete subjection to their husbands. The Legislature would do well to abolish this presumption: and if it is necessary to preserve some distinction between the act of the husband and that of the wife, when they commit an offence jointly, it might be enacted that the wife should be subject to a smaller punishment. This is the law in Louisiana† where command or persuasion of the husband is proved. "A married woman committing an offence by the command or persuasion of her husband shall suffer no greater punishment than simple imprisonment for one-half of the time to which she would have been sentenced, if she had committed the offence without such command or persuasion. Living together at the time, and general reputation of marriage shall be sufficient to reduce the punishment of the reputed wife. But offences punishable by imprisonment for life are excepted from the operation of this article." There is no presumption of compulsion in Louisiana: such fact has to be proved. This presumption finds no place in the Indian Penal Code, though in India its application would be fully justified by the circumstances of the country and the subjection of women to their husbands. Neither does it find any place in the law of Scotland. In England, even if the wife's act be begun elsewhere, it is within the rule if completed in the presence of the husband. Therefore, when "Elizabeth Ryan, better known by the name of Paddy Brown's wife," had in England been convicted under 16 Geo. 2, c. 31, for conveying an implement of escape to her husband in prison, she was deemed to have acted under his coercion, as she had procured the instrument by his direction, and the conviction was upset. And where a wife went from house to house uttering base coin, her husband accompanying her but remaining outside, it was held that her act must be presumed to have proceeded from his coercion. The presumption, however, is not conclusive; it may be rebutted by evidence.

The presumption is one that might be eliminated from the new English Criminal Code. At the same time there are good reasons for incorporating it in the Indian Criminal Law.

De minimis non curat lex.

The doctrine that the courts will not assume jurisdiction in

* Treason, murder, manslaughter, and probably also robbery, are excepted.

† Lou. P.C., 31, 32.

trifling matters is based on the above maxim and on another, somewhat analogous, *in jure non remota sed proxima causa spectatur*. These maxims are as applicable to criminal as to civil law, though, so far as I know, there is no direct decision in English law to this effect as regards the maxim *de minimis*. The framers of the Indian Penal Code have partly embodied the maxim in the chapter of General Exceptions. Sec 95 enacts that "nothing is an offence by reason that it causes, or that it is intended to cause, or that it is known to be likely to cause, any harm, if that harm is so slight that no person of ordinary sense and temper would complain of such harm." The doctrine is one that might be specifically incorporated in the English Criminal Code.

There are, however, some cases in English law in which the principle contained in the maxim hardly appears to have been sufficiently recognized. For instance, the reports show that trifling larcenies have been punished, which probably would have gone unpunished in India. It has been held* that an indictment for larceny may be maintained even though the value of the thing taken be less than the smallest coin or denomination of money known to the law. In cases of arson, on the other hand, it appears reasonable that the maxim *de minimis* should not be applied, and in several American cases it has not been acted on. However trifling the result of the fire, the intent is just as heinous and the act equally dangerous. It is to cases of petty nuisance that the maxim is especially applicable. Again, the carelessness of a medical man must be more than slight before he can be made liable for manslaughter. A master is not criminally responsible for the acts of his servant, unless his carelessness in employing him or looking after him has been very great. In these, and other matters, the maxim is constantly acted on by English judges, and it should be made a part of the statutory law. As has been mentioned above, the doctrine is sometimes ignored, especially in cases of theft. Criminal jurists are not agreed as to how far stealing to satisfy hunger is punishable. Lycurgus allowed hungry men to steal. The civilians got over the difficulty easily by defining larceny to be the taking of goods for the sake of gain (*lucri causâ*); and hence, if a starving man stole meat to satisfy hunger, he was not within the definition. It is said in the *Mirror*,† that it was owing to petty thefts being caused by hunger, that Edward I. ordered those con-

* *R. v. Morris*, 9 Car. and P. 349. See also *R. v. Bingley*, 5 Car. and P. 602. In the latter case the property taken was a slip of paper containing a memorandum of a debt due to the person robbed. It was held that the offence was robbery, as the prosecutor showed, by carrying the memorandum in his pocket, that he consided it of *some value*.

† *Mirror*, c. iv, s. 16.

victed of larceny under the value of a shilling to be exempt from capital punishment. Hawkins said that extreme necessity was an excuse for felony, provided the necessity that induced the invasion of another's property did not arise from prodigality or idleness, or neglecting one's own business. Lord Bacon asserted without any qualification, that if one stole viands to satisfy his present hunger, this was not felony or larceny. But it should be remembered that in Bacon's time a poor-law was not thoroughly established. Lord Hale denied that such was the law of England, at least since the statutory provision for the poor, because of the manifest insecurity of property, if a man might allege a necessity, of which *none but he himself could judge*. But the reality of the necessity is a question of fact, which may be proved like other facts. However, English judges have always punished hunger thefts; and it is related in *Foss's Judges*, that Rooke, J. commended a jury for finding a hungry little girl guilty of larceny for stealing a small mouthful of food, and he sentenced her to pay a fine of one shilling; but took care to add that if she had not got that sum, he would give her one for the purpose. Did this act amount to theft? In India it might be brought under sec. 95 of the Penal Code, especially as there is no poor-law for the relief of starving persons.

H. A. D. PHILLIPS,
Bengal Civil Service.

HE GIVETH HIS BELOVED SLEEP.

When great Elijah looked his God to find
Where none but God was nigh ;
In storm nor earthquake did He come enshrined
A still small voice passed by.

Voiceless, unceasing, are the wondrous powers
That rule in earth and air ;
With quiet sunshine through unnoticed hours
The tree grows broad and fair.

O'er life's vain tumult leans a silent Friend
Whose watchful care is deep ;
A rest from labour gives He at the end
Gives His beloved sleep.

A. EWBANK.

THE QUARTER.

THE principal events of the quarter, under review, have been; the marked increase in the anti-German feeling in France accentuated by the arrest of a French official on the Franco-German frontier; the change in the French Ministry; the progress of the Crime's Bill through the House of Commons; the *Time's* charges against Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon; the celebration of the Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen in England; the satisfactory progress of the dakoity campaign in Burmah; the unsatisfactory result of the latest conferences of the Anglo-Russian Delimitation Commission; the loss of the mail steamer *Tasmania*; the great cyclone in the Bay of Bengal; the continuance of the Simla exodus agitation in the native, and in a section of the Anglo-Indian press; the progress of the public Service Commission and the close of the Finance Commission.

What threatened to be a very awkward and alarming incident—the arrest by the German police of a French official—was got over by that happy mixture of skill, prudence and promptitude which always characterizes the statecraft of Prince Bismarck. The French official was released after a very short detention, but the arrest itself was justified on grounds which the French Government and French frontier officials will have no excuse for not understanding in the future. The police officers on the frontier, German and French, were in constant communication—this was inevitable—and to facilitate the friendly transaction of business between them, the French Commissary had been granted a safe conduct on German territory. The French Commissary grossly abused the privileges of his position as a protected personage on German soil. He conspired against the German Government on German territory. This was proved beyond the possibility of dispute—in fact the French Government made no attempt to dispute it—in the course of the inquiry held by the German authorities and hence the order for his arrest; but Prince Bismarck while completely justifying the arrest and the action of the German frontier authorities, decided from “high international considerations” to advise the Emperor to order the release of the French Commissary, and he was accordingly released. The French Press acting no doubt under advice from the French Government, has been very wisely reticent about the matter but there can be no doubt that the incident created a profound sensation in French society and led to a marked revival

of the bitter anti-German feeling in France. During the quarter under review there was a change in the French Ministry, and M. Rouvier became the Premier of the new Government. The other ministers are, politically speaking, unknown men. The retention or otherwise of General Boulanger as minister for War is *the* French political question of the time. The Germans at least attach extreme importance to it, but this is a feeling which it is a little difficult to understand. Presumably the French ministers are not fools, and if they are really desirous of carrying out Boulanger's policy, and quietly completing his military plans and preparations, they can do so under his influence and inspiration, whether he is a member of the Government or not. And this, beyond all doubt, is what they will do if Boulanger at any time is sacrificed to German sensitiveness and excluded from the Government.

The Bulgarian question has not openly developed any new features of peculiar interest during the quarter under review. The regency continue to govern Bulgaria, and Russia has not succeeded in organising another "midnight conspiracy" as an excuse for taking possession of the country. Nevertheless Russian intrigue is still very active in the Balkan peninsula, and it is certain that the present state of things cannot last long.

During the quarter under review the *London Times* "frighted our isle from its propriety" by a series of astonishing revelations respecting the alleged connexion between Parnellism and crime. The accusations of the *Times* were very specific and definite. According to the *Times*, Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon were in close association with the "Invincibles." Egan, Sheridan, and the rest—with men whose "avowed" policy, in connexion with the nationalist movement, was a policy of outrage and assassination. Nor was this all. The *Times* printed the *fac simile* of a letter said to have been addressed privately by Mr. Parnell to Mr. Egan, just after the awful tragedy in the Phoenix Park, where Mr. Burke and Lord Frederick Cavendish were butchered by Brady, Mullens and the rest, the agents of that "Council of blood" of which Sheridan and Egan and "No. 1" were the chief organisers at the time. In this letter Mr. Parnell regretted the "accident" of Lord Frederick Cavendish's murder, but thought that Mr. Burke had "got no more than his deserts." The *Times* asserted the perfect genuineness of the letter, and offered to make good its assertion by overwhelming evidence in a court of law. Mr. Parnell did not accept the challenge. He contented himself with denying the authenticity of the letter in the House of Commons. It was a "barefaced and palpable forgery." Perhaps it was, but it is a profound pity

that the vitally important question—the genuineness or otherwise of this extraordinary letter, was not submitted for adjudication to the only tribunal—a Court of Law—competent to undertake, to the satisfaction of the public, an examination of this description. In the meantime the question remains in this position. The positive assertion of the *Times* on the one hand is met by the equally positive assertion of Mr. Parnell on the other, but there is this all important difference between the accusation and the denial. The accusation is supported by *prima facie* evidence of the most startling and significant description. The denial is supported by no evidence of any kind. Under these circumstances, Mr. Parnell's refusal to take up the challenge of the *Times* must tell heavily against him in the minds of thoughtful and unprejudiced men. He has practically allowed judgment to go against him by default.

During the quarter under review a most serious disaster befell the P. & O Company. The *Tasmania* was wrecked off the coast of Corsica. Through some unaccountable error in navigation, the ship was some miles out of her course when she struck. The wreck was attended with considerable loss of life: the Captain, 2nd officer, quartermaster, and about 15 of the Lascar crew were lost. The passengers were saved, the ladies (with the exception of two and the children were got on shore in the life boat, and the men and the two ladies who remained on board were rescued after twenty-four hours of incredible hardship and suffering by Mr. Platt's steam yacht the *Norseman*, and the Corsican government steamer the *Perseverant*. The Lascars died for the most part of cold and exposure. All the incidents of the wreck were powerfully described by Mr. G. W. Allen, in a letter to the *London Standard*, but that letter has given rise to a bitter controversy between the P. & O. management on the one hand, and the passengers, represented by Mr. Allen and others, on the other. According to Mr. Allen the Captain was physically unfit for his position. He was in bad health—he had outlived the energy which a commander should possess—and when the ship struck he went about "like a man dazed," and seemed incapable of assuming the responsibility of command. Then the Lascar crew behaved disgracefully. All discipline was lost, and they thought of nothing but saving themselves. These assertions and reflections have been most energetically repelled by the P. & O. authorities, and in some instances at least, not without a certain degree of success. The Captain was only 52 years of age, and it is absurd to imagine that an officer of 52 has outlived the energy necessary for the command of a steamer. The Captain was dazed because immediately after the vessel struck, he met with a severe accident

which incapacitated him for a time. The Lascars behaved well, until the terrible exposure to which they were subjected, incapacitated them for work, and the Serang lost his life in the attempt to launch one of the boats. So far so good, but why did four of the Tasmania officers go off with the ladies and children in the life boat, and why did they not return with the life boat to the wreck? This is a very important question indeed, and no doubt it will receive the consideration it merits from the Court of Inquiry.

The diplomatic torpedo is a machine which Prince Bismarck may be said to have constructed, and in the use of which he is the greatest proficient in our time. Just before the Franco-Prussian war, he exploded, for the particular benefit of England, that torpedo which revealed the designs of Napoleon the third on Belgium. Lately he has exploded another torpedo, revealing the joint designs of Russia and Austria on Turkey. The feeling in Vienna is described as one of "diplomatic consternation, and the ministers responsible for the secret understanding which Prince Bismarck brought to light, are to be brought to a very strict account by the nation.

The remarkable series of articles on European politics generally attributed to Sir Charles Dilke have been continued during the quarter under review. One of these articles deals with Russia's designs on India. Now the writer may be, and we have no doubt is, a great authority on European politics, but what he has to say about Russia and the Russian position in Central Asia, is in our opinion utterly valueless, simply because he has not taken the pains to keep himself thoroughly informed on the subject. He speaks of "impassable deserts" between Candahar and Herat, and he speaks of the Sikhs as being the only portion of our native army which could be matched against the Russians. Has he never heard of Mahrattas, Goorkhas or Beloochees.

Another act in that long and dreary farce—the Frontier Delimitation Commission—was opened at St. Petersburg during the quarter under review, and closed on the usual tableaux—another Russian triumph and another English humiliation. Lord Salisbury is not responsible for the almost incredible stupidity and gullibility which led to the organization of the Commission, in the first instance. It was Mr. Gladstone's government which sent an English officer and English soldiers, or soldiers in English employ, to be spectators at the battle of Panjdeh, but Lord Salisbury is responsible for keeping up this feeble attempt to fix within definite limits—the Russian boundaries in Turkestan.

The Afghan boundary is so extensive and so ill defined, that Russia is quite ready to settle it at one point or in one direction, knowing well that she can always keep in reserve some disputed point at another. And this is precisely what she has done in connexion with the latest conference at St. Petersburg, for she declines altogether to accept the English proposition respecting the Afghan boundary towards the frontier of Bokhara. That must remain an "open question." For how long? Well, until it suits Russia to close it in her own interest and at her own opportunity. Now in the name of common-sense what have we gained so far by the labours of the Afghan Boundary Commission? True, the Russian frontier towards Herat has been defined with the utmost exactitude; but it has been defined in a manner which leaves Herat practically at the mercy of Russia in case of war. Is this an advantage? We are beginning to carry our love of definitions to an extraordinary extent, when we can point with pride to the settlement which has placed the Herat valley in the jaws of Russia. Then, as against this "advantage," there was the fact—the melancholy humiliating fact—that British officers and British soldiers were forced to look on while the Russians routed our allies, the Afghans, at Panjdeh, under their very noses. It would be difficult—it might be entirely impossible—to over-estimate the bad effect on English prestige which this "fact" exercised over the impressionable people of Turkestan. It was made plain to the Boundary Commission officers themselves during their retreat, and they never ceased to deplore it as a most humiliating and disastrous diplomatic reverse. The long foreshadowed meeting between the Sepoy and the Cossack has taken place, and they met not on the banks of the Oxus but on the banks of the Murghab. With what result? The Sepoy retreated entangled in the flight of his routed allies, and the Cossack advanced to a position which placed him within striking distance of Herat.

The problem which the Indian Government has now to solve has been well indicated by an astute writer in the *Saturday Review*. It is useless going back now on the follies and miscalculations—the lamentable stupidity and credulity which led us to remain passive while the Russians advanced from the shores of the Caspian to the frontiers of Afghanistan. What has been done cannot be undone; and now all we can do is to possess our souls in patience and strengthen our own frontier to the best of our ability and by every means in our power. And this is what we are doing; and it is certain that the Russians will find an invasion, of India a very hard nut to crack indeed.

The latest distinguished visitor to our Indian shores was a cyclone which swept with great violence over the Bay, and produced stormy and unsettled weather nearly all over Bengal for more than a week. The cyclone was accompanied by a great number of wrecks and a deplorable loss of life. The *Sir John Lawrence*, a pilgrim ship to Cuttack, foundered, and of the crew and passengers, some 750 in number, not a soul is believed to have been saved. The steam-tug *Retriever* put to sea just as the storm commenced, and she had in tow the sailing vessel *Godiva*. The *Retriever* was forced to cast off the *Godiva*, and the sailing vessel, escaping destruction by "the skin of her teeth," contrived to beach herself safely on the coast, but the *Retriever* foundered and was lost. Only one man, a native fireman, was saved from the *Retriever*. He was picked up on a piece of the wreck, to which he had held on for more than twelve hours. There was only one passenger on the *Retriever*, Mr. J. Keith Sim, a genial and popular member of Calcutta society, and his loss is deeply mourned by a wide circle of sincere friends.

The Finance Commission has finished its labours and submitted its report. That report, so we are informed by the Government of India, must be regarded as confidential for the present, but the general result is indicated for us in the Government acknowledgment. The recommendations of the Committee when carried out, or if carried out, will result in a saving of some five lakhs per annum in provincial expenditure "without prejudice to the efficiency of the Public Service." These be tidings of comfort and of joy, but the "confidential" character of the recommendations is an effectual stopper on all criticism of their value for the present.

The Public Service Commission has nearly finished its labours and will shortly be engaged in the consideration of its report. In the meantime, the general result may be indicated as follows: There was practically a consensus of opinion among the European witnesses that natives are unfit for the higher and responsible administrative appointments, and there was practically a consensus of opinion among the native witnesses, that they were rather more fit for these appointments than Europeans, and that, as natives of India, they had to these appointments a "preferential claim."

GEO. A. STACK,

The 24th June 1887.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Public Instruction, Madras.

PRINCIPAL STATISTICS :—

The number of students who appeared for the various examinations of the University, other than the Matriculation examination, was 2,041, as against 1,517 in 1884-85 ; and of this number only 739, or 36 per cent. passed, as compared with 622, or 41 per cent. in the previous year. These percentages cannot be considered satisfactory, and it is clear either that there is much room for improvement in the instruction given in colleges, or that the Matriculation examination is not sufficiently difficult. The percentage of passes was only 34·4 for the B. A. degree examination, and 33·7 for the First in Arts or intermediate examination. It is observed that, taking these examinations together, Government institutions passed 36·9 per cent. of their candidates, and aided institutions 32·6 per cent. The following table shows the results in the first-grade colleges :—

College.		Percentage of Passes.	
		B.A.	F.A.
Government—			
Presidency College	...	42·5	34·4
Kumbakonam College	...	38·4	44·0
Rajahmundry	...	58·3	40·4
Aided—			
Madras Christian College	...	34·9	28·3
Doveton College	...	...	75·0
Tanjore S. P. G. College	...	40	28·3
Tuticorin Caldwell College	...	...	36·4
Trichinopoly St. Joseph's College	...	20	37·1
Do. S. P. G. College	...	28·6	25·9
Unaided—			
The Maharaja's College, Vizianagram	...	0	45·4
Average for Presidency	...	34·4	33·7

As usual, a large majority of the persons who passed the Arts examinations were Brahmans, no less than 71·8 per cent. of the students who obtained the B. A. degree being of that caste. The increase in the proportion of passes secured by other classes of the community noticed in 1884-85 has thus not been maintained at the B. A. examination ; but at the F. A., while the proportion of Brahmans among successful candidates is stationary, those for " Other Hindus " and Muhammadans have increased.

The number of students who appeared for the B. L. degree was 72, and 36 of these were successful. The number of students in the Madras Medical College continued to increase,* and there was again a large advance in the number appearing for the various medical examinations of the University.† The percentage of passes was 61·2. His Excellency in Council notices that a female student of this college succeeded in obtaining the L. M. S. degree, and was thus the first female graduate of the

Madras University. Eight pupils appeared for the B. C. E. degree, but only three were successful, as against 7 out of 11 in the previous year.

* 1883	...	...	113
1884	...	...	124
1885	...	...	134
† 1883	...	...	38
1884	...	...	75
1885	...	...	116

The total expenditure on higher education was Rs. 4,68,596, as compared with Rs. 4,26,363 in the previous year. The contribution from provincial revenues advanced from Rs. 1,90,415 to Rs. 2,11,003.

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

The number of Secondary Schools advanced from 762 to 784, and the number of pupils from 30,372 to 31,113. The following table shows the position in more detail :—

	1884-85.		1885 86.	
	Schools.	Scholars.	Schools.	Scholars.
Upper Secondary—				
For boys	120	6,659	127	6,162
For girls	26	160	22	95
Total ...	146	6,819	149	6,257
Lower Secondary—				
For boys	476	22,065	460	23,032
For girls	140	1,488	175	1,824
Total ...	616	23,553	635	24,856
GRAND TOTAL ...	762	30,372	784	31,113

The decrease in the number of pupils attending upper secondary classes is ascribed to the great falling off in the number of pupils who succeeded in passing the Middle-School examination in December 1885. The scheme of that examination underwent considerable changes in February 1885, and whereas 59 per cent. of the candidates were successful in 1884, only 33 per cent. succeeded in passing in the following year. This matter has already received the attention of the Government, and upon the advice of the Director, the conditions of the examination were greatly simplified in September last.

Department of Agriculture and Commerce, N.-W.-P.

THE most interesting paragraphs in this report relate to the various experiments at Cawnpore.

Amongst experiments, those with woollen refuse from the Cawnpore Mills as a manure gave increasingly good results, and the usual comparative experiments with manures were carried through successfully. Experiments with maize cultivated as in America and with sugarcane cultivated as in the Mauritius proved in both instances failures. From varied trials with cotton, more facts were accumulated in regard to production under different modes of cultivation; oilseeds grown alone and mixed were tested for outturn, and so also were certain mixed kharif crops. The plots of kharif crops sown to test produce were maintained.

The following is a summary of the rabi season operations :—

About 13½ acres were devoted to various experiments with wheat and 7½ acres more to wheat grown under ordinary conditions.

On the best of the experimental plots the average yield was 33.6 bushels per acre, as against 30 bushels, considered a good yield in Europe, and this, too, in the face of unfavorable conditions for what at one time promised to be a superlatively fine harvest greatly retrograded under the influence of dry strong winds acting on the ripening grain.

In the annual repetition of certain set classes of experiments, going to form a series from which eventually accurate deductions may be drawn, the results have this year been classified, and will in future be always classified so as to show plainly the net profit on each operation. A fact brought out very clearly so far is the advantage of alternating crops of wheat with other grains in place of repeating wheat alone year by year. This is no discovery, but it is a great advantage to have the facts at hand for pointing axioms, such as that of the necessity of rotation of crops. The plots on which maize and wheat alternate, exhibit constantly a larger yield than those on which wheat alone is grown from year to year.

In manures some new experiments were instituted to test the value of oil-cake applied direct to the land as compared to feeding cattle with it and applying to the land the resultant. Figures are greatly in favor of using cattle as an intermediary, and here again the result was only such as might have been expected; still it is necessary to have figures to enforce the truth.

In green-soiling experiments the value of growing lucerne after barley as a preparation for wheat is one of several points of value made.

The Lois Weedon or Jethro Tull system, under which wheat is grown without manure, but more profitably than in the ordinary manner by leaving fallow strips between cropped strips, the fallow strips being carefully tilled and cropped in their turn in alternate years, has now, for the third season, given fair results, and may possibly prove useful for application to outlying village lands where manure is not procurable.

Barley after lucerne and oats, on land manured with woollen refuse, gave excellent results. The profit in the case of oats was estimated to be greater than that of wheat on a like acreage.

Messrs. Prashkauer and Co., London, who have extensive dealings in seeds in the European market, and whose representative visited the farm last year, kindly supplied a variety of field seeds for experiment, such as field beans, peas, Egyptian peas, and canary seed. The only kind however, that succeeded was canary seed, which gave a very good crop, and which is largely imported into England. Mangold wurzel and Belgium carrots were grown from English seed, and in both cases crop paid well.

Ensilage, as has been elsewhere remarked, is now beyond the experimental stage, and forms part of the working system of the station.

An interesting experiment in the pods of the *Inga dulcis* as a food for sheep and cattle was carried out. Sheep fed for upwards of three weeks almost exclusively on the sweet mucilaginous pods of *Inga dulcis* gained in weight, and as the tree yields its pods in large quantities and is very hardy, its more extended plantation in waste places and on grazing lands seems desirable.

Of implements successfully experimented with may be noted an improved Bull's dredger and a centrifugal sugar separator.

*Calcutta Court of Small Causes 1886.***PRINCIPAL STATISTICS :—**

The number of cases for disposal, the number disposed of, and the manner in which they were dealt with, are shown in the following statement, the figures of 1886 being compared with those for the two previous years:—

	1886.	1885.	1884.
Pending from the previous year ...	3,291	2,664	1,801
Instituted during the year (including revivals)	29,513	31,002	31,074
	<u>32,804</u>	<u>33,666</u>	<u>32,875</u>
Decreed in favor of plaintiff after contest	4,418	4,003	4,076
Decreed in favor of plaintiff without contest	9,820	10,273	9,450
Dismissed after trial ...	1,352	1,202	1,312
Non suited or withdrawn ...	702	743	816
Compromised ...	10,014	10,796	11,492
Dismissed for default or want of prosecution	3,598	3,283	2,995
Dismissed uncontested ...	50	73	70
Pending at the close of the year ...	<u>2,850</u>	<u>3,291</u>	<u>2,664</u>
	<u>32,804</u>	<u>33,664</u>	<u>32,875</u>

As compared with the preceding year, "Miscellaneous cases," as shown in one of the statements appended to the report to the High Court, fell off by 29. There was a decrease of 1,428 in the institution of regular suits, exclusive of revivals, and the figure for 1886 is less than that for 1881 (34,108, the last year before the introduction of the present Act, by 4,892. The falling off in the past year was chiefly in suits below Rs. 50 in value, though there was also a slight diminution in the number of suits up to the value of Rs. 100 and of Rs. 100 to Rs. 500, and again in those of above Rs. 1,000 in value, of which the latter take up most time and give the most trouble. The work, however, increased in other directions. There were 11,403 "Other applications" against 8,633 in 1885—a rise of 2,770; the number of applications for execution of decrees increased by 871, from 17,636 to 18,507; and applications for leave to sue under section 18 by 141—1,684 against 1,543.

The appointment of a Fifth Judge from the 1st November enabled the Court to dispose of a slightly increased number of contested cases, and to reduce the very heavy pending file from 3,291 to 2,850. There were, at the close of the year, 946 cases that had been pending more than three months, against 1,076 in the previous year.

*Trade of N. W. Provinces and Oudh, 1885-1886.***PRINCIPAL STATISTICS :—**

EXTERNAL TRAFFIC.—Of the entire external traffic of the Province, Calcutta took over 42 per cent. of the total exports, and supplied over 18 per cent. of the total imports; Bombay took only 12.5 per cent. of the total exports, and supplied less than 2 per cent. of the total imports; Bengal (excluding Calcutta), Rajputana, and the Panjáb took altogether about 39 per cent. of the total exports, and supplied over 72 per cent. of the total imports. In exports they took nearly equal shares, but in imports the supplies from Bengal more than equalled the supplies from the Panjáb and Rajputana taken together. The traffic with other Provinces was but of small dimensions. The total export to and import from each Province and Port are shown in the following table, with corresponding figures for the previous year :—

Provinces and Ports.	Exports.		Imports.	
	1884-85.	1885-86.	1884-85.	1885-86.
	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.
Bengal, excluding Calcutta ...	25,80,137	35,17,405	57,56,385	74,01,644
Calcutta ...	71,49,889	1,11,81,216	33,01,925	37,02,145
Panjáb ...	32,03,340	36,25,941	37,68,915	32,61,342
Sindh ...		2,51,228		46,886
Rajputana and Central India ...	27,18,146	29,00,935	47,71,589	40,61,089
Central Provinces ...	5,68,703	4,54,944	3,99,270	2,11,201
Berar ...		85,016		39,823
Nizam's Territory ...		4,767		363
Mysore ...	4,90,109	629	72,928	67
Bombay Presidency, excluding Bombay Port ...		6,47,194		11,61,486
Madras ...		73,132		2,432
Bombay Port ...	19,27,672	32,74,119	3,81,010	3,93,923
Total ...	1,86,37,996	2,60,16,626	1,84,52,022	2,02,82,401

CHIEF STAPLES OF TRADE.—Analysed by staples, raw produce formed 68 per cent. of the entire exports, the chief being wheat, other food grains, oilseeds, and cotton. The chief among the manufactured articles which these Provinces sent out were sugar, ghi, shell-lac, saltpetre, indigo, opium, and tea. The imports were chiefly cotton goods, metals, salt, coal, and railway materials. The quantity of each staple exported and imported during 1885-86 and in the preceding year is noted below :—

<i>Exports.</i>		1884-85.	1885-86.
		Mds.	Mds.
Total exports	...	1,86,37,996	2,60,16,526
Exports of wheat	...	37,99,282	81,73,575
Do. other grains	...	20,01,201	44,29,228
Do. oilseeds	...	37,17,204	36,53,950
Do. cotton	...	7,90,536	10,18,257
Do. sugar	...	23,71,891	22,92,606
Do ghi	...	1,03,771	1,34,745
Do. shell-lac	...	84,385	93,653
Do. saltpetre	...	1,41,439	1,30,302
Do. indigo	...	78,474	37,068
Do. opium	...	1,05,066	1,11,281
Do. tea	...	13,193	16,582
<i>Imports.</i>		1884-85.	1885-86.
		Mds.	Mds.
Total imports	...	1,84,52,022	2,02,82,401
Imports of cotton goods	...	7,17,497	8,44,986
Do. metals	...	7,93,860	7,87,239
Do. salt	...	33,83,920	32,71,203
Do. coal	...	45,33,118	56,83,367
Do. railway material,	...	38,97,706	45,34,819

The Jails of Bengal, 1886.

P RINCIPAL STATISTICS :—

The statistics for the year show highly favorable results in the following particulars :—

- (1). The daily average population of convicts was only 13,504 as against 15,506 five years ago, and the year 1886 closed with the smallest number on record—13,465. The decrease would be still greater if the prisoners from Burma were not included.
- (2). The discipline in our jails is reported by official visitors to have been maintained at a very high standard, while the total number of punishments has decreased from 49,740 in 1881 to 40,504 in 1886 ; the number punished by whipping has also decreased from 914 in 1881 to 396 in 1886.
- (3). The warder-guard is now a well-organised and highly-trained body of men. All difficulties in regard to recruiting them for unpopular districts have disappeared under the orders issued a year ago. How much the security of our jails has been increased may be judged from such figures as these : escapes in 1870, 192 ; in 1881, 37 ; in 1885, 14 ; in 1886, 17 ; this latter number includes 3 Burmans. With the improvement in the guarding arrangements, it has been possible to do away almost entirely with fetters for safe custody.

- (4). The gross jail expenditure, which was Rs. 11,16,423 in the previous year, has been reduced to Rs. 10,93,361. All items of controllable expenditure show a reduction.
 - (5). As regards manufactures, we are in a better position to-day than we have been for years. It has been decided that machinery may be employed in Bengal jails under certain restrictions, and that the requirements of the consuming departments shall, as far as possible, be supplied by jails. These result have been obtained for us by Sir Rivers Thompson.
 - (6). The development of the subsidiary jail system at the head quarters of sub-divisions, has given us 84 well-organised miniature jails. Sixteen new subsidiary jails have been built in the last five years.
 - (7). The most remarkable improvement—and one in which Sir Rivers Thompson has taken a personal interest—is the lowering of the death-rate in our jails. For 20 years previous to 1883, the average death-rate was 61·5 per mille; for the last four years the average has been 49·4 per mille. The statistics for the year 1886 are remarkable, showing a death-rate of only 37·0 per mille—the lowest figure ever known in the history of this Department.
 - (8). The Hazaribagh Reformatory School has been enlarged, and is now capable of accommodating 231 boys. Both the Alipore and the Hazaribagh Schools have worked with great success.
 - (9). The work of inspection has been regularly carried on. I visited every jail during the year, and official visitors have recorded 2,463 visits to jails. The following figures show how much improvement has taken place in the all-important subject of visits to jails by visitors not directly connected with them. For the five years from 1877 to 1881 the average yearly visits numbered 1,666. For the last five years the average has been 2,295.
 - (10). It has been possible, with the help of 12 apprentices during the year, to arrange for the working of my office without any increase of establishment, such as it was at one time feared would have to be entertained. This yearly report is some indication of its efficiency.
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CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

'Things of India' made Plain; or, a Journalist's Retrospect.
By W. Martin Wood, formerly Editor of the "Times of India" and of the "Bombay Review." In four Parts. Part II. Section 3. London: Elliot Stock, 26, Paternoster Row. Calcutta: Thomas S. Smith, 1886.

IN days when a somewhat cynical indifferentism to the course of public affairs pervades Anglo-Indian society, days when Municipal politics are by so many people accounted low, and all sheerly Indian politics a bore, it is refreshing to come across such a publication as Mr. Martin Wood's *Things of India made Plain*, sections 3 and 4 of the second part of which are now before us. Many middle aged folk who can easily recal to mind the history of old world Athens, Sparta, and Rome, are yet apt to find the story of their own times, and their own neighbourhood slipping away from remembrance. To such people, as well as to a younger generation, Mr. Martin Wood's rescript from Bombay history, between the years 1865 and 1880, will prove a useful "refresher" to the memory.

Section 3 deals with "Bombay—Political, Commercial, Municipal, Social;" Section 4 with "Native States, and our Relations therewith:" a wide enough, and interesting enough range of subjects, with reference to which the reader will find set down the opinions and suggestions of a contemporary journalist, who lived, and moved and, we may say, had his being, with the affairs of which he now produces a record. For Mr. Wood is evidently an ardent lover of Bombay, as well as a journalist with his heart in his work. From his English retirement he sends Anglo-Indians of a younger generation than his, selections from articles originally published in the *Times of India* and other Western Presidency papers, of which he had editorial charge. In his prefatory note Mr. Wood writes:—"Quite apart from civic and local topics, there may be found in these extracts many subjects touched upon that concern general questions of Indian administration—the relations of the local to the Supreme Government on one side, and to the "Secretary of State in Council" on the other;

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questions that demand the careful attention of British statesmen and of all who are responsible for the future of India. To take one illustration relating to ordinary administration, that of the attack of Mussulman rioters on the Parsees in Bombay, in the early part of 1874, "nothing could be plainer than the lessons of prevision, timely firmness, and impartiality, taught by that occurrence; yet in the course of 1883, in connection with what were known as the Salem riots in the Madras Presidency, those plain duties were flagrantly neglected by the local authorities concerned, with fatal and distressing results, followed by well grounded political agitation of very serious complexion, yet the Madras Government of the period succumbed to the social and service influence of the local officials responsible for permitting the outbreak, and for the subsequent gross miscarriage of justice." His affection for the Western Presidency would lead Mr. Wood to translate the old saw *ex oriente lux*—Light from Bombay.

We find Mr. Wood always proud of being *de facto* a citizen of Bombay, and always hopeful and cheery about Bombay's prospects, even when giving good advice in dark days of bankruptcy and commercial collapse. He never likes to be unkind. In a thanksgiving article for the removal of Mr. Dickson from Bank control, we find him winding up his jubulations; "thus there is an end of Mr. Dickson as a public man; though we repeat he will ever be esteemed in his private character, and valued for his practical business abilities." In another place, a sketch of Mr. Chisholm Anstey's "stormy life" is relieved by reference to his fondness for cats. "It is said that so many as seventeen of these curious and interesting creatures used to sit at table in his bungalow on Kumbala Hill." *Apropos* of commercial collapse, Mr. Wood has a good deal to say. Articles on "The speculative mania of 1864-5," and cognate subjects, form a very readable running commentary on a great business crisis, which business men will probably feel interested in. Here, too, we find Mr. Wood characteristically hoping against hope, and trying to make the best of a bad job. "If we could only know the worst, some arrangement might be made that would bring Bombay out of the trial unscathed."

The first article republished in *Things of India made Plain*, section III, discourses of the proper site for a new Indian capital, and takes it for granted, that "Calcutta as a capital is irrevocably condemned." There is no suspicion of Simla as in the running at all; but a rising young civilian, a Mr. George Campbell, is commended for suggesting Nassick as the proper place, and Mr. W. W. Hunter is snubbed for spelling it 'Nasik.' Isn't there a delicious Rip Van Winkly feel about all this? Was it really no longer ago than these records show that

some amongst us scented danger to the British constitution in what Mr. Wood stigmatizes as the "futile and hateful C. D. A."? C. D. A. being his polite paraphrase for the Contagious Diseases' Act. Is the Black Pamphlet—is all the controversy over the Behar Famine—a tale of only thirteen years ago? This journalistic retrospect brings back to mind many a forgotten episode in those erewhile hot controversies. Then we find reference to the once famous Towers of Silence case; to the case of *Regina v Pestonjee Dinshaw & Succaram Raghobah*, in which the provisions of the Indian Penal Code were made applicable to the practice of the Black Art in India; to the Mediterranean Bank extortion case. How many of our readers have ever heard before of the Mediterranean Bank? Here is a quotation from an article entitled "Rounded with a Sleep," referring to the death of Mrs Hough, Bombay's oldest inhabitant, aged nearly ninety. "At first it bewilders one to consider what is comprised in having had intercourse with one born before the great French Revolution, and familiar, in her own personal recollections, with all the stirring events arising from that upheaving of society, and great political catastrophe; and Mrs. Hough had, from her girlish days, been a portion of the times in which she lived. She has taken the keenest interest in the events around her, and, in the most distinct and picturesque manner, has been accustomed to assign to the actors therein their proper parts."

Part II, Section IV of our journalist's retrospect, treats of Native States, and our relations therewith. *Dalhousie's policy: Reason and Sentiment* is the first article; *Indian political causes and appeals* is the last one. Intermediately Baroda Misrule, Mysore Annexation, Kattiawar Brigands, the Mayo Rajpootana College, Indian Privy Councillors H. H. Scindia's Konkani bride, and many other interesting subjects are dealt with. The author's prefatory note to Section 4 says:—"The native States of India and our relations therewith, as treated of in this section 4, is not only one subject, but, as will be seen, comprises several divisions that are of very high political importance. In illustration of this remark the last two selections may suitably be referred to. The former of these relates to the group of questions that arise whenever the fiscal measures or financial exigencies of the British Indian Government affect the revenues of Native Princes or Chiefs, or the interests of their people. The latter article raises the difficult, but pressing juridical problem, of the constitution of some public tribunal, where cases between Native States, and their feudatory or privileged subjects, shall be submitted to open judicial process, instead of, as now, being disposed of by secret methods, under bureaucratic executive authority. It will be

obvious that the first of these divisions comprises the large field of treaty rights and imperial obligations, the very foundations of the British Indian Empire." In imperial relations with Native States, our author is much in favour of non-interference and a policy, of what used to be called in Lord Lawrence's time, masterly inactivity. *Apropos* of a Madras paper's complaints about lawlessness and robbery in the Hyderabad State, he writes:—"The Madras journal does not seem to understand the constitution of the Nizam's Government. He does not know that there is an *imperium in imperio*, an authority to a considerable extent independent of the Nizam's Government, within the Nizam's country, and which renders the duty of the ruler a hundredfold more difficult than under the compact system of British India. Our Madras contemporaries ought to know, but must, for the time, have quite forgotten, that there are many nobles and chiefs in the great Deccan Kingdom, independent jagirdars, made independent of the authority of the Chief Minister of the State, within whose jurisdiction it generally happens that acts of violence, such as the Madras paper alludes to, do sometimes occur. That there are difficulties in the removal of this anomaly in the State we need not take the trouble to show. . . . Within the British dominions in India there exist similarly independent chiefs, whose *laches* in administration might be laid at the door of the British Government, if the Nizam's Government are bound to answer all the shortcomings of all their jagirdars; but the latter Government has not been in the habit of annexing principalities. It strives patiently, by persuasion and example, to introduce order and regularity in them." With regard to Mr. Wood's favorable disposition towards non-intervention in native States, we find him in a note to an article on *Native Burmah* in 1871 writing, "Seeing that he (*i. e.* Lord Mayo) had acquired much of the true imperial art of Indian politics, is it likely that he would have committed, or, in his retirements have approved the deplorable mistake of Lord Dufferin in sweeping away the Native dynasty, whereby the whole country has been thrown into anarchy, with which we shall have to struggle for years to come?" Here is a noteworthy extract from an article on *One-sided treaties and grudging policy*:—"On turning from Hyderabad to other independent States, there is much in our management that savours of grudging and mistrust. On the plea of security, the British Government forbids Holkar making percussion caps and casting rifled cannon; its officers treat the Nepaulese with distrust, and even Scindia with apprehension; while the extortionate Nuzerana scheme has been held over the heads of all for years past. What, we ask, does it matter if Scindia delights in fine

troops, and Holkar spends his money in buying steam machinery to manufacture powder as well as spin cotton? What if the Nizam would prefer narrow guage railways located according to his own convenience, and if Nepaul manufactures rifles and percussion caps? Instead of thwarting, let Government help these Princes with their whims, and treat them with consideration and respect. When the time of trial arrives, if it ever come again, they will find that those dreadful guns, and still more 'parlous' percussion caps, and all other bugbears of mistrust, so far from being used against the British Power, will be its best defence. But this presupposes the faithful maintenance of a generous imperial policy. The age is past when the Princes of India, being ignorant of their rights, will allow changes or encroachments to proceed without challenge."

We have now given our readers a sufficient taste of Mr. Martin Wood's quality. The good wine in his *Things of India made Plain*, needs no further bush.

History of India under Queen Victoria. From 1836 to 1880.
By Captain Lionel J. Trotter. Vols. I & II. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1886.

CAPTAIN TROTTER has been long and favorably known to the public as a most able and thoughtful writer on Indian historical subjects. His life of Warren Hastings was a model of industry and research, and may be regarded as the standard work on the subject. His latest work, "India under Victoria" is a far more ambitious performance, and it will prove, if we mistake not, equally acceptable to students of Indian history. In one respect, and that a most important one—"India under Victoria" is a great improvement on any of Captain Trotter's previous publications. It is much better executed from a purely literary point of view. Captain Trotter has acquired, by practice, a much easier, as well as a much more graphic and finished literary style, and some of his descriptions of events and incidents during the Indian mutinies are worthy of being classed with the best passages in Malleon or Keene, the most graphic and interesting Indian historians in our time. The great improvement in point of style is most noticeable in that portion of Captain Trotter's volumes which deals with the Mutinies. The narrative of events in the earlier period is carefully and accurately told, and apart from the narrative itself, Captain Trotter's reflections and observations on the great movements, social, economic and educational of the time, are always sagacious and instructive, but there is not much originality of treatment in this part of his History, because our author was compelled to rely on the older historians,

Kaye and Wheeler, for his information, and to follow them very closely as the recognised and standard authorities of Anglo-Indian history during that time. With the mutinies it is very different. The India of the great Sepoy Revolt was an India well-known to Captain Trotter himself, and he writes of Delhi, Lucknow, Cawnpore—of India lit up with the flames of a great rebellion—with that minuteness, mastery of detail, and graphic power which belongs to personal impression. It is evident that he knew intimately and questioned closely most of the great survivors of that stirring time, and it is also evident that he had a most thorough knowledge, based on personal experience, of the state of India, social, political, and military in 1857, and for some years antecedent to this time. His narrative of the period possesses another great and distinctive merit. While sufficiently detailed, it is not too diffuse. Captain Trotter has realised that there is such a thing in history as proportion, and that however praiseworthy the minute industry of Orme may be, his wearisome iterations of trifling details is a disfigurement and not a merit. As regards the causes of the revolt, Captain Trotter is at one with all the writers who have carefully studied the subject. The Sepoy army in India had become a "Prætorian army." It was proud, justly proud of its numbers, efficiency and discipline, and of the share which it had borne in many a hard won triumph for the English arms in Scind, and the Punjab and Afghanistan. It was at the time of the mutinies, and for some years before that event, under-officered (as far as Europeans were concerned) to an extent which left the Sepoy regiments practically under the command of the Havildars and Subadars of the native army. It was anxious to "try conclusion with us," and the stupid and short sighted injustice of the Company in treating the native soldiers in a niggardly manner as regards batta and allowances and pensions, made that anxiety still keener and more intense. The affair of the greased cartridges was only the spark applied to the powder magazine.

The movement was a popular movement at first, because the people generally believed that it would succeed, but with the "turn of the tide" it became very unpopular, and the Sepoys, who were the idols of the villages and towns in the earlier part of 1857, became objects of execration to the peasantry towards the end of 1858. There is, to our thinking, only one serious blemish in Captain Trotter's remarkable work. He defends Hodson though thick and thin, and refuses to admit one iota of the grave charges which have been brought against him. Now this wont do. Malleon, Bosworth, Smith, Holmes have brought to bear on the

examination of the painful subject the utmost impartiality of feeling and the greatest possible care in sifting all the evidence bearing on the dispute. With what result? They have thrown Hodson over. It has now been established beyond the possibility of dispute, that he was (after many trials) thrown over by the Lawrences for shady transactions in connection with the trusts and responsibilities both of military and civil appointments, and it has been equally well established by Colonel Malleson that he was a man whose hand "was swift to shed blood." That he was a most gallant, intelligent and daring soldier goes without saying, and he rendered splendid service to his country in a time of emergency and peril. With this solitary exception all the judgments passed by Captain Trotter on the great actors of the Mutinies strike us as very singularly just and discriminating: "Nothing does he extenuate or set down aught in malice," and we are convinced that, that portion of his history which deals with the great Revolt, will form a permanent, popular and enduring record of the greatest Indian event in "India under Victoria."

The Moloch of Paraffin. By Charles Marvin. London: R. Anderson & Co., 14, Cockspur Street. *England as a petroleum power.* By the same Author.

MR. CHARLES MARVIN is nothing, if not sensational. *The Moloch of Paraffin* is his latest Bogey. He has given that title to a pamphlet announcing itself as "Thirtieth Thousand." On the outside cover is a picture of a girl in act to blow out a lamp, inside the globe of which a death's head lurks and grins. Three texts garnish the top and sides of this work of art. They run:—"Nearly every week an inquest in London." "Chicago" burnt down. Hampton Court Palace twice set on fire." England insists on safety lamps for her mines; why not on safety lamps for her masses?" On the fly-leaf a supplementary text from Gustave Flaubert's realistic novel *Salammbô* reads thus:—"All were weak before Moloch—the Devourer At the beginning devotees tried to count the victims" (hundreds of children), "but now so many were piled on the fire, that it was impossible to distinguish them—in the lull could be heard the screams of mothers, and the crackling of the grease spattering on the embers The barbarians looked on, gaping with horror."

In his *Introduction*, Mr. Marvin tells his readers that, in the spring of the year, he "was invited to act as a Special Commissioner of the *Lancet*, and visit the various London Hospitals, with a view to writing a popular account of hospital life," &c. As a result of the mission those readers are invited

to sup very full indeed of penny dreadful horrors. That diabolical agency, a paraffin lamp, we are told, "never warns the victim of the impending disaster; with treacherous stillness it emits a cosy, soft, mild light on the table, lulling everyone into a fatal confidence; a moment later, the soft, mild light is a raging torrent of fire, sweeping like lightning over the room, and carrying death and desolation throughout the habitation."

Our author will hear of no compromise with glass or China reservoirs for kerosine lamps. "I must lay it down as a definite rule," he says, "that a lamp that cannot be knocked off the table without breaking, the reservoir ought not to be tolerated on any one's premises. Next to breakable reservoirs the extinguishing of lamps "leads to the majority of accidents," and to point this moral, a dreadful example is cited: The wife of a sign-writer at Westbourne, near Bournemouth, who blew down the chimney of a lamp, and left behind her a family of seven young children, under the age of ten. Kerosine lamps are so diabolically wicked, that they often explode "on simply turning down the wick." The instance given in this case is Edward Walker, a middle-aged engine-fitter of Camberwell. His widow declared at the inquest that he did not blow down the lamp at all. The flame just made a rush at him, and set his head all ablaze. No mention is made of cross questioning on the part of coroners and jurymen with reference to these peculiar cases. In another case, Jane Wood was killed by a kerosine lamp which she imprudently "exposed to a draught." In short, if we are to trust Mr. Marvin, a kerosine lamp in a house is more to be dreaded than cholera, the plague, a hungry tiger, or black masked, revolver armed, emissaries of the Irish Land League. Methinks he doth protest too much.

There is balm in Gilead for agitated nerves. Mr. Marvin has discovered a safety lamp. The Defries, to wit. And his conception of what a safety lamp should be, ought to satisfy the most exacting nerves. Conception, that is to say of a lamp that can be knocked off the table, thrown at one's wife, carried about the house, and blown down upon, without any fear of fire or explosion. The Defrie's lamp satisfies all these requirements. (One wonders whether Mrs. Marvin was satisfied with her share in the experiment.) After informing us that the Defrie's lamp possesses more illuminating power than any other, Mr. Marvin goes on to say:—"The most prodigious and perfect light, however, would not please me if it were not absolutely safe. Perish India rather than that my books and my private papers, the treasures of my library should be swallowed up by the Moloch of Paraffin! Much though I appreciate petroleum as an illuminant, I would

never tolerate in my house a lamp that could not be trusted with romping children."

Our author urges "the urgent need of safety lamps for the masses," and of "a law to suppress dangerous lamps." Let the legal member of Council look to it. Meanwhile, Mr. Marvin wants to know—"Is Moloch to have his own way?" Contrariwise, as Tweedledée would say.

Old Daddy Longlegs wouldn't say his prayers:—

Take him by the right leg—
Take him by the left leg—
Take him fast by both legs—
And throw him down the stairs.

The Moloch of Paraffin was published in December 1886. In April 1887, it seems to have occurred to Mr. Marvin that he had been kicking against the pricks, and he put forth another pamphlet "England as a petroleum power." In this brochure the fiendish character of petroleum no longer impresses him. *Le Roi est mort, Vive le Roi*. As our author puts it, in the heading to his first chapter, "Palm and whale oils are dead: long live Petroleum!" Owing to the competition of petroleum, palmoil has, within the last few years, fallen from £40 a ton to £18. Whale oils instead of fetching £60 a ton, only sell for £22 now-a-days. "Well done, Dundee!" was Mr. Marvin's rapturous exclamation, when he heard that Captain Gray, of Dundee, was going to sell his whaling fleet, and invest in a petroleum tank steamer.

Mr. Marvin wants to know why commercial Britons should resign the oil trade to Russia and America. It is profitable; and in half a dozen different parts of the Empire oil might be struck if any one would take the trouble to bore for it. Every one has heard of the Burmese oils. There are, moreover, petroleum fields waiting to be opened out in Assam, in the Punjab, in Beloochistan. Egypt, behind the Geb-el-Esh mountains for an area of twenty miles, is "impregnated with oil." The Director of the Geological Survey of India is quoted, as writing in an official report:—"It is, I think, a safe prophecy that the oil measures of Eastern India may be supplying half the world with light, within a measureable time, when the American Oil-pools have run dry."

Burmah is hailed as *the Petrolia of the East*. But until wells have been sunk in orthodox fashion, no trustworthy estimate of the oil yielding capacities of the new territory can be made:—"below the crust at Yenangyoung may lie prodigious stores of oil, destined at no distant date to render the stinking little Burmese town the Petrolia of the East. The deepest wells there do not penetrate lower than 400 feet. That is no distance at all from the petroleum experts point

of view. At Baku wells penetrate 800 feet, and in America nothing is thought of boring down 2,000 feet." Croakers hold that the petroleum trade in Burmah will have uphill competitive work, "because she produces from 100 gallons of crude, even less lamp oil than Russia." But, as a matter of fact, it is too soon even for an expert to set hard-and-fast lines to Burmese production.

Burmese oil fields are no new imagining. "An account published by Colonel Symes in 1795, mentions that there were then 500 wells in operation, the estimated annual yield being 90,900 tons. Two years later Captain Cox estimated the yield at 92,781 tons. In 1835 Captain Hannay described the output as being still about 93,000 tons a year. The wells were usually 4 feet 6 inches square, and descended vertically from the top of the plateau to depths of from 250 to 350 feet, and on the slope from 110 to 180 feet, which would make them from 100 to 200 feet below the level of the water course at its base. Over each there was a rude cross-bar and drum, by which an Eastern *ghara* was lowered, and drawn up again by a man who walked down an inclined plane, with the rope to which it was attached. The oil thus obtained was poured into another *ghara* containing about 36½ lbs. and twelve or thirteen of these made up a cart load. The oil was raised only in the morning, and the quantity having been extracted which experience had proved the well could only produce, work ceased, and the well was allowed to rest, and the oil to accumulate, for twenty-four hours. In Colonel Symes's time the celebrated wells of Yenangyoung supplied the whole empire, and many parts of India with that useful product, earth-oil. The mouth of the creek was crowded with large boats waiting to receive a lading of oil, and pyramids of earthen jars were raised in and round the village, disposed in the same manner as shot and shell in an arsenal. We saw several thousand jars filled with oil ranged along the bank; some of these were continually breaking, and the contents, mingling with the sand, formed a very filthy consistence." It is worthy of note that no mention is made of their setting the sand bank on fire.

In 1883-84 the quantity of earth-oil arriving at Rangoon was nearly 1,000,000 gallons. *Apropos* of this Mr. Marvin reminds his readers "how rapidly and how tremendously engineering skill may transform a peddling little Native industry into a gigantic commercial concern, with world-wide ramifications." One cardinal excellence in Burmese earth-oils is that they are "heavy," and in proportion to this heaviness, safe.

Thereanent, we find it written:—

Now, it is a peculiarity of Petroleum that if we depart from the ordinary type of lamp oil, and resort to a heavier quality, we get a very much safer article. For

instance, the Defries Lamp Company sells what it calls a "Safety Oil" of this heavier character having a flashing point of 270° Fahrenheit. This would have to be heated to 48° Fahrenheit over the boiling point of water before it could be flashed. In other words, after being made boiling hot, a lighted match could be safely thrown into it. Speaking of this oil Mr. Boverton Redwood said some time ago—"It may be regarded as practically no more inflammable than vegetable oils, such as Colza, and in one respect is even safer than those oils, since cotton waste, or other absorbent material, saturated with it is not liable to spontaneous combustion."

Here is Mr. Marvin's peroration :—

To-day London finds capital to open up the oil fields ; to-morrow Glasgow has to provide the boring tubes and pipe lines ; the next day Newcastle is called upon to furnish tank steamers and tank barges ; and the day after Birmingham tens of thousands of lamps and stoves. Thus the development of the oil fields within the Empire means briskness of trade at home, and if the mission be not a brilliant one, I can conceive none more useful in these depressed times than the publicity which a writer can give to so promising a field of enterprise. America and Russia "struck oil" long ago, and the exploitation of Petroleum is now the most flourishing industry of the two countries. England, in turn, has her chance. She has successfully "struck" Corn in India : now let her strike Oil in Burma.

The Imperial Gazetteer of India. By W. W. Hunter, C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D., Director-General of Statistics to the Government of India. Trübner & Co. London, 1886.

WE have to thank the Home Department for Vols. IX, X, and XI of Dr. W. W. Hunter's lucid, painstakingly arranged, and scientifically compressed *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. It goes without saying that they are written in elegant, idiomatic English, and full of interesting matter.

A specially prepared map of the Indian Empire accompanies volume IX, which opens with the story of Fort St. George, and the earliest triumphs of the English in India. Then we get to matters industrial, commercial, and so forth. Here is Dr. Hunter's summing up of mining prospects in Southern India :—"The mining wealth of Madras is as yet undeveloped. Iron of excellent quality has been smelted by native smiths from time immemorial. In Salem district are some remarkable deposits of magnetic iron, from 50 to 100 feet in thickness, extending continuously for miles. A Company was formed in 1825, to work the beds at Palampatti, and operations were afterwards extended to Porto Novo, near Cuddalore, and to Beypur, on the Malabar Coast. But all these enterprises ended in failure. In 1883-84, 336 mines, or small workings, yielded 329 tons of iron, valued at £4,135. Carboniferous sandstone extends across the Godavary as far south as Ellore. The strata were mapped by the Geological Survey in 1871 ; coal was tested by borings near Damagudem, and found to be of inferior quality ; and in 1881-82 the Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India expressed an official opinion that there are no coal resources of economic value in the Madras

Presidency. Such seams as exist are for the most part in the territory of the Nizam of Haidarábád. Upon receipt of the opinion of the Superintendent of the Geological Survey, the Madras Government decided to stop the exploration of the Bhádrachalam coal-fields which was in progress, and to await the development of the Haidarábád fields.

Attention has recently been drawn to the promise of gold-mining in the Wainád and Kolár. Gold had long been washed in the hill-streams in small quantities; and it was hoped that operations for quartz-crushing on a large scale might prove remunerative. Many of the quartz reefs are auriferous, particularly in Nambalikod and Munád. Laboratory experiments on the Southern ends of six reefs have shown an average of 7 dwts. of gold to the ton of quartz, rising in one case to 11 dwts." Gold mining is many centuries old in Wainád. More mining information is followed by a section on Madras forests and forestry.

Out of a total population of 34,172,067 persons in the Madras Presidency, only 1,93,550 are set down as Kshatryas. In Malabar is found a peculiar Brahman caste—Nambúri. Local tradition holds them to be descended from a race of fishermen; and they are regarded with peculiar reverence by their neighbours. The agricultural castes claim 27·25 per cent. of the population; artisan castes only 2·98 per cent.; of whom nearly one-half are workers in metals. The weavers number 3·44 per cent. of the artisan total. They were once a much more important section of the community, but have been unable to withstand the competition of piece-goods from Manchester. The labouring classes number 13·16 per cent. of the population, toddy-makers 5·69, Pariahs 15·58. The Pariahs are about four times as numerous as the Brahmans, that is to say," "Up to the close of the last century they lived in a state of slavery to the superior castes; and they are still compelled by custom to dwell in separate hovels outside the boundary of the village, and to perform all menial services. They are described as a laborious, frugal, pleasure-loving people, omnivorous in diet, and capable of performing much hard work. *Despite their absolute exclusion from the Hindu social system, the Pariahs returned themselves under more than 2,000 caste subdivisions in the Census Report for 1881.*" The italics are ours. We commend the passage to the consideration of those enthusiasts who deem that the caste system is on the wane, might easily be abolished, and in the interests of civilization and progress, ought to be. *Apropos* of caste, we are told, that "throughout the whole of Southern India, sect exercises a social influence second only to caste, and caste itself often appears to be founded upon the most arbitrary distinctions,

unknown to the law-books of the Hindus. Thus, in Madras, a broad line of sectarian division separates the community into members of the right-hand and left-hand factions. The origin of this strange division is obscured by fable, but at the present day it often occasions disturbance at public festivals. Some weavers are found in the one faction, some in the other; the fisherman sides with the right hand, the hunter with the left; the agricultural labourers range themselves on the right, while their wives are reported to frequently attach themselves to the left. With the shoemakers this division of the sexes is said to be often reversed." Here is another curious bit of caste history:—"The Máppilas or Moplás are the descendants of Native Malayálam converts to the Muhaminadan creed. The head of the Máppilas, the Raja of Cannanore, is descended from a fisher family in Malabar. A seafaring life, trade with Arabia, and Arab missions, led to extensive conversion among the Malabar fishing races. At one time, after the European nations appeared in the Eastern seas, conversion was largely promoted by the Zamorin of Calicut, with a view to procure seamen to defend the towns on the coast; subsequently, forcible conversion was attempted by Tipú Sultán with no great results. Thousands of Hindus were removed to Mysore, but few returned, and those who did, for the most part relapsed into Hinduism; but having partaken of beef, and been circumcised, they could not be received back into their castes. They are now recognized as a separate caste, professing Hinduism." The aboriginal Todas are dying out. When the census was taken in 1881, they numbered only 689 persons. Like the Nairs, they are given to polyandry. The principal wandering tribes are the Brinjaras and Lambadis, who are found in all parts of the country as carriers of grain and salt.

There are more Native Christians in the Madras Presidency than in any other part of India; and there are more of them in the protected States of Travancore and Cochin, than in British territory. "The Church of England in the South, and the Baptists in Nellore and Kistna, have made great advances of late years; but the Roman Catholic Missions, founded three and a half centuries ago, have still the strongest hold on the country, and their activity is both continuous and widespread. Roman Catholics represent 25·25 per cent. of the Europeans in Madras Presidency, 37·66 of the Eurasians, and 68·68 per cent. of the total Christian population of the Presidency." The Church of England claims nearly two-thirds of the Protestant Christians. In connection with Madras Christianity, and the Census of 1881, we are told that two curious features were noticeable during the enumeration. Over 800

inhabitants of Madras City, including 22 Europeans, and over 18,500 Native Christians throughout the Presidency professed Christianity, but were not able to decide to what sect they belonged. More curiously still, over 1,14,000, or one-sixth of the total Christian population, were unable (or reluctant) to state whether they were "Europeans, Eurasians, or natives." A little further on we find it written :—"The history of Christianity in Southern India is full of interest. The Syrian Church of Malabar claims to have sprung from the direct teaching of St. Thomas the Apostle. A Syriac MS. of the Bible, brought from Cochin, and now in the Fitz-William library at Cambridge, is plausibly assigned to the eighth century. A Pahlavi inscription, in the ancient church of the Little Mount, near Madras, indicates an early settlement of Manichœan, or Nestorian Christians on the eastern coast as well as the west. The census of 1871 returned only 14,335 'Nazaranis,' and that of 1881 only 5 'Nazaranis,' in the Madras Presidency. But in Travancore the Syrians numbered 300,000 in 1871, and 87,409 in 1881; and in Cochin 40,000 in 1871, and 14,033 in 1881. Some of them are Catholics of the Syrian rite; the others still acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch."

Any one desirous of knowledge about the agricultural systems, wages, prices, &c., obtaining in the Madras Presidency, will find ample information in the *Imperial Gazetteer*. We glean that the first regular coffee plantation in the Wainád, under English management, was opened in 1840 by Mr. Glasson, though before that time Major Bevan had grown the berry as a curiosity. In 1856-57 the total exports of coffee were only 32,000 cwts. They are three times as much now. The tea plant was introduced on the Neilgherries about 45 years ago, but not taken up as a commercial speculation till 1865. An account of tea cultivation processes is given (under the heading Nilgiri Hills). Dr. Hunter thinks the 78,707 acres supposed by the Etcetera Department to be under tobacco cultivation in Madras, an under estimate. "Lanka" tobacco is, it appears, tobacco grown on the alluvial lands of the Godávery—lanka meaning a river island. An account of different methods of cultivation and curing pursued is given. So with Cinchona. Then we come to an interesting chapter, from the political economist's point of view, on wages, prices, famines, irrigation, productive public works, land-tenures, and so forth. The last Madras famine "fell most heavily on the general Hindu population, which decreased 13.64 per cent. in the afflicted districts. The Muhammadan population in the famine districts was much less severely affected. This was due to the fact that the Muhammadans are not largely agricultural, but congregate in large towns, which

were early centres of relief." Madras possesses few staple manufactures apart from the village industries which supply the simple wants of the people. The manufacture and sale of salt is practically a government monopoly. The manufacture of toddy is a familiar process in every Madras village. In connection with Southern Indian Railways we are given a detailed statement of Madras's exports and imports. Then follows an exposition of administrative machinery which explains how it happens that "as the village is the unit of the *táluk*, and the *táluk* of the District administration, so the District is the unit of State management." It was not always so, or anything like it. The Madras Factory was under the jurisdiction of Bantam, in Java, from its foundation in 1639 till it was created a Presidency in 1653. In 1882-83, the elective system was in operation in twelve of the Madras municipalities. The finances of the Presidency are exhaustively considered, under four heads, imperial, provincial, local, and municipal. We are not told, however, whether the four heads are better than one.

The number of female scholars in the Madras Presidency at the time of the last census was returned at 43,671. It should be remembered to the credit of Madras that it took the lead in trying to stem the tide of Indian prejudice against female education, and gave us our first women doctors.

The earliest treatise on the Flora of Southern India is the "*Hortus Malebaricus*" of Van Reede, a Dutch Governor of Malabar. *Latet anguis in herbis*. "The carpet-snake, *Lycodon aulicus*, which resembles the Karait, is harmless; but it would be awkward to mistake a Karait for a *Lycodon*." Lightly, or with due weighting of argument, as best suits the subject in hand, the *Imperial Gazetteer* is a competent and very companionable guide over land and sea, statistics and traditions, scientific expositions and common sense guessings, history and natural history; and what not?

We have skimmed the account given of Madras by way of index to Dr. Hunter's careful, exhaustive method of dealing with his subjects. Nor is this painstaking endeavour reserved for presidencies, and presidency towns, and vainglorious localities. Idly turning over the leaves of the *Gazetteer*, the word "*Mandrák*" caught our eye, and excited curiosity. Here is what we learnt about it:—"Mandrák—village in Koil *tahsil*, Aligarh District, North-Western Provinces; situated on the Agra road, 7 miles south of Koil. Population (1881) 1,506. Noticeable for the spirited defence of the Mandrák Indigo Factory, by Mr. Watson and eleven Europeans against 1,000 Musalman rebels, on the 1st of July 1857."

Here is a bird's eye view of that picturesque little town, Monghyr. "It consists of two distinct portions—the fort,

within which are situated the public offices and residences of the Europeans ; and the native town stretching away from the former, eastward and southward, along the river. The fort is formed by a great rampart of earth, enclosing a rocky eminence, which projects some distance into the Ganges, and is faced with stone. It was probably at one time a strong fortification. Towards the north, the river comes up to the walls, forming a natural defence ; to the landward, a deep wide ditch surrounds and protects the fort. On entering from the Railway station by the *Lal Durwāza*, or Red Gate, the principal entrance, Monghyr presents a very pretty appearance. The main road runs southwards between two large tanks, behind each of which rise low hills. On one of these stands the Karna Chawra house, the property of the Mahārājā of Vizianāgaram ; and on the other, a fine building known as the palace of the Shāh Saheb, and now the residence of the Collector, behind which is the residence of Shah Shuja, son of Akbar, which has been converted into a jail. Between the hills lie the Government gardens, and, usually on low eminences, are the houses of the other Europeans."

The story of Orissa takes higher flight : is instinct with the poetry of archaic religion, and shrines as venerable, and venerated ; as passionately loved and apotheosized as that of the Holy Sepulchre. A story of shifting sand, on which Hinduism has "stood at bay for eighteen centuries against the world." Jagannāth is "the National temple, whither the people flock to worship from every province of India. Here is the Swargadwāra, the gate of heaven, whither thousands of pilgrims come to die, lulled to their last sleep by the roar of the eternal ocean. Twenty generations of devout Hindus have gone through life, haunted with a perpetual yearning to visit these fever-stricken sand hills. They are Puri, *the* city of their religious aspirations on earth ; they are Purúshottoma, the dwelling of Vishnu, 'the best of men' ; they are the symbolical Blue Mountain ; they are the mystic navel of the earth. A tract sold to pilgrims at the door of the temple states that 'even Swa is unable to comprehend its glory ; how feeble then the efforts of mortal men !'"

But Jagannāth has stronger claims on the popular regard than glory can give. There is a bond of companionship in suffering between the people and their god. In dark days of foreign invasion, or flight from famine and disaster, the god has always accompanied his worshippers ; felt for them, suffered with them. Dr. Hunter's sympathies have made a way for him behind temple veils ; and he knows that "the true source of Jagannāth's undying hold upon the Hindu race consists in the fact that he is the god of the people.

As long as his temples rise upon the Puri sands, so long will there be in India a perpetual and visible protest of the equality of man before God. His apostles penetrate to every hamlet of Hindustán, preaching the sacrament of the Holy Food (Maháprasad). The poor outcast learns that there is a city on the far eastern shore, in which high and low eat together. In his own village, if he accidentally touches the clothes of a man of good caste, he has committed a crime, and his outraged superior has to wash away the pollution before he can partake of food, or approach his god. In some parts of the country the lowest castes are not permitted to build within the towns, and their miserable hovels cluster amid heaps of broken potsherds and dunghills on the outskirts. Throughout the southern part of the Continent it used to be a law, that no man of these degraded castes might enter the village before nine in the morning, or after four in the evening, lest the slanting rays of the sun should cast his shadow across the path of a Brahman. But, in the presence of the Lord of the world, priest and peasant are equal. The rice that has once been placed before the god can never cease to be pure, or lose its reflected sanctity. In the courts of Jagannáth, and outside the lion gate, 100,000 pilgrims every year are joined in the sacrament of eating the holy food. The lowest may demand it from, or give it to, the highest. Its sanctity overleaps all barriers, not only of caste but of race, and hostile faiths; and a Puri priest will stand the test of receiving the food from a Christian hand. The worship of Jagannáth, too, aims at a catholicism which embraces every form of Indian belief and every Indian conception of the deity. Nothing is too high, and nothing too low, to find admission into his temple. The fetishism and bloody rites of the aboriginal races, the mild flower-worship of the Vedas, and every compromise between the two, along with the lofty spiritualities of the great Indian reformers, have here found refuge. The rigid monotheism of Rámánuja in the twelfth century, the monastic system of Ramánand in the fifteenth, the mystic quietism of Chaitanya at the beginning of the sixteenth, and the luxurious love-worship of the Vallabhácharis towards its close, mingle within the walls of Jagannáth at this present day. He is Vishnu, under whatever form and by whatever title men call upon his name. Besides thus representing Vishnu in all his manifestations, the priests have superadded the worship of the other members of the Hindu trinity, in their various shapes; and the disciple of every Hindu sect can find his beloved rites and some form of his chosen deity, within the sacred precincts.

Dr. Hunter holds both Sivaism and Vishnuism to be attempts, on different lines, to bring the gods down to

men. The gods of the latter are bright, friendly beings, who walk with, and hold sweet converse with men. Its legends breathe an almost Grecian beauty. But, even as beautiful Hellenic conceptions of the divine had to give place to rude Latin grossnesses, so the spiritual element in Vishnuism has been overlaid with the crass materialism of the masses, finding congenial expression in Sivaism. That is an outline of the argument, necessarily bald and sketchy. Our readers will do well to get hold of Vol. X of the *Gazetteer*, and get that argument in bulk. Before dismissing the subject, we must, however, give another quotation, having reference to a persistently misrepresented ritual:—"The offerings are bloodless. No animal yields up his life in the service of Jagannáth. The spilling of blood pollutes the whole edifice, and a set of servants are maintained to hurry away the sacrificial food that may have been contaminated. Yet so deeply rooted is the spirit of compromise in this great national temple, that the sacred enclosure also contains a shrine to Bimalá, the 'stainless' queen of the all-destroyer, who is every year adored with midnight rites and bloody sacrifices." For people fond of morals here is yet another extract:—"But it is on the return journey that the misery of the pilgrims reaches its climax. The rapacity of the Puri priests and lodging house-keepers has passed into a proverb. A week or ten days finishes the process of plundering, and the stripped and half-starved pilgrims crawl out of the city with their faces towards home. They stagger along under their burdens of holy food, which is wrapped up in dirty cloth, or packed away in heavy baskets, and red earthen pots. The men from the Upper Provinces further encumber themselves with a palm-leaf umbrella, and a bundle of canes dyed red, beneath whose strokes they did penance at the Lion Gate. After the Car Festival they find every stream flooded. Hundreds of them have not money enough left to pay for being ferried over the network of rivers in the delta. Even those who can pay have often to sit for days in the rain on the bank, before a boat will venture to launch on the ungovernable torrent. At a single river, an English traveller once counted as many as forty corpses, over which the kites and dogs were battling."

Dr. Hunter's compact histories of Native States, past and present, and of old Indian families, are exceedingly interesting. He has an eye for the romantic side of history, which in his hands never becomes a bald record of dates, battles, and treaty engagements. Dry bones waken to life at his bidding. The account given of Oudh is a pattern of concise completeness. "Patna" is an article appealing to all sorts of tastes—archæological, 18th century historical, commercial, &c. Its Mutiny story is well told. "Peshawar" gives occasion for a lively

description of Pathan village life. With reference to Port Canning, Dr. Hunter seems to think it not impossible that that "decayed town and port" may yet be resuscitated. A sketch of the rise and fall of the Port Canning Company, and Mr. Ferdinand Schiller's big booming in connection therewith, is given. "Prome," "Rangoon," "Mandalay," and other articles on Burma will have special interest for readers at this time. "Rajputana" is a theme that can never lack interest. It would be difficult to light upon any page of this *Gazetteer* quite devoid of interest. But we have no space at command for further notice of its contents in this issue.

The National Review, May 1887.

London : W. H. Allen & Co., 13 Waterloo Place, S. W.

THE article in the *National Review* for May likely to command most attention in India is one by General Norman on the re-organisation of the Indian army.

General Norman thinks that when discussing army reforms it is necessary to bear in mind—

First. It has to maintain order in a country with a population exceeding two hundred and fifty million souls, and embracing an area of a million and a half square miles ; a country in which, for the greater part of the year, military movements are difficult, and in which military communications are still gravely precarious.

Secondly. It has to stand ready to guard against the possible outbreak on the part of the independent princes, whose armies number close on four hundred thousand men.

Thirdly. It has to defend a land frontier several thousand miles in extent, threatened now by the advance of a powerful civilised army, and to defend seaports the trade of which exceeds £140,000,000 per annum.

Fourthly. It has to be prepared to furnish contingents for any foreign expedition in which Great Britain may be engaged, as well as to undertake the sole conduct of wars outside the immediate limits of the Indian Empire. Thus during the present century the Indian army has been employed thrice in Egypt ; it undertook the reduction of Bourbon, Rodriguez, the Mauritius, and Java ; it has twice despatched divisions to China ; its regiments have fought in Persia and Burmah Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and in Abyssinia ; whilst in 1878 the division which Lord Beaconsfield ordered to Malta performed a great political service.

Unfortunately, owing to that spirit of false economy which successive Ministers, irrespective of party, introduce into the management of our naval and military affairs, we have seen the Anglo-Indian army steadily diminish in numbers since the great wave of rebellion swept over the country in 1857.

Here is a suggestive quotation—

The 9th Bengal Lancers left Bombay with a strength of two lieutenant-colonels, a major, three captains and three subalterns, a third lieutenant-colonel being left in command of the Depôt Troop in India. In the engagement of the 20th March, Major Robertson was severely wounded and invalided home ; within a week one captain and two subalterns were sent on board the hospital ship as unfit for duty. On the application of the commanding officer, who found his regiment dangerously crippled for want of British

officers,* Sir Gerald Graham sanctioned the transfer of a subaltern from the Transport Department ; but the Indian Government refused to confirm the appointment, and then at a most critical period of the campaign the regiment was left with five English officers, including the commandant and his adjutant.

General Norman aptly understands the value of pointing his morals with pertinent instances. Here is one, *à propos* of the mischief likely to arise from constant shiftings of officers from one regiment to another, at great expense both to the State and the individual :—

In the Perak expedition of 1875, Captain C—served with a Goorkha battalion, he having previously served many years with a corps recruited in Oudh. The Afghan war of 1878 saw him in a regiment of high class Punjabis ; thence he was transferred to one of low class Mugbees ; and now he is in command of a crack Sikh corps. How is it possible for this officer to have mastered the idiosyncrasies of five different races, or even their dialects, in ten short years ?

British army regulations place captains on the retired list when they are forty-two years old. The Bengal Army List shows twenty-three troop or company commanders and forty eight subalterns who have upwards of 35 years' service ; whilst 1,169 company officers have served more than twenty-years. These native gentlemen, says General Norman,

who have all performed long, faithful, and gallant service, have reached the summit of their ambition ; nothing remains for them but the obscurity of the pension list in their own villages. There they are at the beck and call of every civilian underling ; and if they emerge from their retirement to present their " nuzzur " at the durbar of a passing Governor, they find their chairs placed below those of the meanest official in civil employ.

Here is another plum :—

When we realise the extent to which Russia utilises the services of the natives of those countries over which she holds sway ; when we consider the tactical and strategical skill displayed in recent wars by orientals ; the question forces itself upon us whether we are not wasting the material at our disposal by thus cramping the energies and restricting the services of our native officers. By opening up a wider career, we might induce well-educated men of good families to enter the army ; and as these men in a war with Russia would oftentimes find themselves opposed to Cossack regiments officered entirely by orientals, there is no reason why we need fear that those in the Anglo-Indian army would prove the worse leaders. Tergoukassoff, the one Russian general in the Armenian campaign of 1877, who showed tactical skill of a high order, was an Armenian born and bred ; Lazareff, who executed the trying flank march round Moukhtar Pasha's flank at the Aladja Dag, was of the same nationality ; Osman and Moukhtar, the two Turkish leaders on whom the Sultan bestowed the title of Ghazi, in recognition of their skill and gallantry, were not one whit more highly educated than the high class native of India, and possessed no higher military talent than did Tantia Topee, or the Afghan leader who drove Roberts into the entrenchments of Sherpore.

General Norman gives reasons to account for the difficulty of recruiting for Indian regiments. He touches on the formation

of a native reserve, and the opening up of civil employments for time-served men. But the question of all others

which demands immediate attention is the elimination from the army of those regiments on which no dependence can be placed in the heat of an engagement. The subject is one of some delicacy, but we have Hodson's word that the old Pandys did not face the Sikh with much heroism in the Punjab campaigns, and in the last Afghan war we saw a Sikh regiment sent up from Calcutta to the Khyber, passing *en route* many Poorbeah corps which could have reached the point, had the Commander-in-Chief been so minded, far more quickly. Roberts chose none but up-country battalions for the force he took down from Cabul to Candahar, and Sir Donald Stewart, in his equally successful, but less famous march from Candahar to Cabul, followed the same plan. The unfortunate mishap at McNeill's zareeba has not done much to rehabilitate the Oudh sepoy in the eyes of the Indian officer. More than once the remark was heard at Suakin, "It's little short of murder expecting a fellow to serve with those men."

Here is another most timely and useful hint :—

It certainly seems anomalous that the military budget should be held responsible for the pensions of the 360 military officers in civil employ ; and more than anomalous that whereas the covenanted civilian finds four per cent. of his pay deducted as a contribution towards his pension fund, the soidier-civilian holding a like appointment escapes all deduction, and finally retires with high military rank and a maximum pension larger than that of his less fortunate brother. If the pensions of these military civilians were eliminated from the military budget, the reforms necessary to place our Indian army on a thoroughly efficient footing could be carried out without additional expenditure of a single sixpence.

We strongly recommend this article to the attention of military men, and other people interested in Indian military affairs.

Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, Nepal, &c. By Sir Richard Temple, Bart., M. P., G. C. S. I., &c., edited with Introductions by his son, Richard Carnal Temple, Captain, B. C. S., &c. In two volumes. London: W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place. 1887.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE is well remembered in India as a prodigy of restless activity. He is the modern seeker after perpetual motion ; the Walter Raleigh of our times. One of his latest endeavours for the public good has been to unearth some of his old journals, and to give them to his son, Captain R. C. Temple, to edit and publish. The editing, we are constrained to say, has been badly done, although in his preface and general introduction Captain Temple informs us that "the great range of the topics touched upon in the diaries, and the extreme differences in the countries described, have obliged the editor to expend no small labour upon them." The great labour unfortunately has been rendered of no effect under stress of filial piety. Such piety is a highly respectable virtue in its proper place, and we should be sorry to disparage

its worth ; but unhappily there are drawbacks, counter irritants to all virtues, and filial piety can claim no exemption from this natural moral order. In the case we are presently concerned with, that is to say two volumes of *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*, the uses and value of editorial scissors seem to have succumbed utterly to reverential regard for paternity's lightest utterances. Volume I opened in our hands at page 249. Beginning from the top of the page, here are five days entries :—

Sunday, December, 15th—I stayed in camp at Nalgunda all day.

Monday, December 16th—Early in the morning I marched back to Narkailpili.

Tuesday, December 17th—I spent the day at Hyderabad.

Wednesday, December 18th—Faiz Muhammad came on the part of the Vikáru'l-Umará to fix a day for my interview with his son, Khurshéd Jah. His master, he said, had decided that, as he could not see the Resident himself, the next best thing was that his son should do so. We arranged that the next morning I should go to the Lingampili gardens, and that Khurshéd Jah should meet me there.

Thursday, December 19th—Early in the morning I went to the Lingampili gardens, a place of some size and beauty, and Khurshéd Jah received me with considerable state."

This is no isolated instance. Volume I is plentifully padded in a similar fashion. On page 147 this entry may be found—"Sunday, June 16th." Not a word more ; absolutely a blank day.

By way of relief from such inanity, and for the sake of that characteristic bit of bunkum about "a brief excursion," we give the following extract :—

"*Tuesday*, September 24th.—Early in the morning I rode out on a brief excursion to Farrukhnagar, about thirty miles on the Karnál road. I passed through the city on my way, and near the Nizam's Palace, I was struck by the frightful amount of filth in the roads and streets, all which might have been easily cleared away at slight expense, without causing annoyance to any one, and without offending any prejudice."

Here is something better, *à propos* of Court abuses, when General Fraser was Resident at Hyderabad :—

"For instance, it seemed clear that the revenue used to be literally embezzled to the extent of from twenty to thirty *lákhs* annually, through the existence, on paper only, of an irregular army, nominally of 30,000 men. Enquiry proved that it had no real existence, and was avowedly kept up in order to put money into the pockets of influential men ; some 30 *lákhs* annually going in this way. Again, the forgery of Government orders for the payment of money went on to such an extent that an assortment of hundreds of such documents, ready for use, were found and seized. The minister tried to get rid of the paper army, but could not, as the Nizam himself insisted on its being kept up."

When asked about the Arab mercenaries dragooning every body at Hyderabad, Salár Jung told Sir Richard Temple that the Nizam, the Minister, and even the Treasury were in their hands. "The Salár Jung admitted that they were afraid of the Arabs, mainly because their houses, their persons, and almost their lives were at their mercy !" On the 15th April 1867, Sir Richard took charge of the Hyderabad Residency affairs from Sir George Yule, who told him that the Minister

had great difficulty in procuring enforcement of decrees passed by the Courts in the city, and expressed a fear that the Courts themselves were not so good as they might be. Two days afterwards the President of the Majlis-i-malguzárf called on the new Resident, and told him that the revenues generally were on the increase, especially the excise of spirits, and that much more might be done *if the talukdars would obey the orders of the majlis better*. On the 22nd April a Judge of the Court of Criminal and Civil Appeal admitted that it was difficult to get decrees executed against persons of influence. On the 23rd April our diarist is 'made melancholy' by 'perversity and obliquity of moral vision on the part of one Faiz Muhammad, a very respectable man, who could see no wickedness in the Vikáru'l-Umara's offer of a bribe of a lakh of rupees to a certain Mrs. M. On the 25th April the Resident congratulated the Nizam on the good government which existed in his country.

Here is a clipping from Sir Richard Temple's account of his first audience with the Nizam, as British Resident at Hyderabad—

"On arriving at the threshold of the Nizam's audience chamber, I took off my boots, which was easily done in a moment, and walked onwards, the Nizam coming forward and embracing me. He then sat down on a white cloth on the ground, and I sat down beside him on his left * * * * * He asked me a few questions about the Governor-General's movements, which was all that we expected he would do on this a formal occasion and then called for *atar* and *pan*. His manner of speaking was not haughty, but was blandly deferential rather than otherwise * * * * * Getting up, I walked backwards a few paces and saluted him standing, while he returned my salute sitting."

On the evening of the 13th June 1867, Sir Richard Temple "gave a small dinner party to the Society of Boláram." On the morning of the 21st June, in that year, he breakfasted with the officers of the 21st Royal North British Fusiliers at the Mess House, "the band playing the while." Of Friday, June 28th—it is written, "I proceeded with my reading up of the old records between 1839 and 1845." Here is the Diary entry for Wednesday, August 28th; a first glimpse at Sir Richard's artistic proclivities :—

"This was the day of the Bi'sini'llah ceremony, and I sent the Minister a gigantic bouquet of flowers from the Residency gardens, together with a Persian letter couched in the usual florid terms of oriental congratulation. The previous practice had been, I understood, to send flowers to the Minister in masses, from the Residency Gardens, without any particular arrangement of colours. This time, however, I had the flowers arranged so as to set off their colours, and had them surrounded with every sort of variegated leafage both from shrubs and creepers. This bouquet was sent in a painted tub, the sides of which were, however, concealed by the hanging leaves. It was very large, and it measured 7 ft. 3 in. in circumference at the base, and 4 ft. 9 in. in height !"

Here is the first paragraph of the entry for Friday, September 13th :—

"In the morning a party of ladies and gentlemen went in my carriage to see the Minister's stables."

Enough of Hyderabad twaddle, pettifogging, coscombery, and padding. Sir Richard rather plumes himself on the artistic side of his genius, though we fail utterly to understand how any artist eye could tolerate the violently coloured chrome lithographs that accompany the itinerary of his travels. Still, anything is a relief after that Hyderabad common place book.* Let us have some of Sir Richard's word painting. Of his first view of Kashmír he tells us—"I thought this one of the most interesting spots on the march, and I felt like a pilgrim in sight of Jerusalem!" On the next page but one we find him writing—

"The associations which the thought of being actually in Kashmír raised in the mind were numerous, connected with its poetry, history, antiquity, art, natural beauty, and mineral productions. The exhilaration of spirits was irrepressible. I recounted to myself the various things I had expected to see, and of all these expectations one only was disappointed, namely, costume and human beauty, for the drapery of the Kashmírís, though full and flowing, is yet destitute of colour; but all other expectations, which a traveller could form, were abundantly fulfilled. At that moment, too, the scenery was beautiful: after the abruptness and precipitousness of the Pír Pantsál, the flat valley was doubly appreciable as it lay like a gem of the earth at the foot of the snowy Himalayas. To one also fresh from the dusty plains of the Punjáb, the sight of another plain so different was inexpressibly refreshing to the eye. The ground seemed moist and delicately green, *χλωρός* as Homer would have described it. The balmy air seemed to throw a misty grey over everything. There was no red, nor yellow, nor drab; all was snow-white, or azure, or grey, or violet, or indigo, or green."

The Mánas Bal, it seems, "may be described, on the whole, as a pretty little lake with clear and transparent water." The Walar lake "would be a first class attraction in any country." Bahrámguľ is "truly a lovely spot to die in." Ampár is a very pretty place, for, "as I entered it, the evening was closing in, and the people were beginning to illuminate in honor of my arrival." The Maharája of Kashmír asked Sir Richard in what condition he found Kashmír, and what he thought of its and administration. These questions our diplomatic lover of art and nature "could not of course answer exactly in such company, but I tried to hint delicately that, like all other places, Kashmír would benefit by increased care." Here is something more human—

He told me that he was endeavouring to improve the judicial system, and that he had doctors of Hindú, and Muhammadan Law employed in the work. He also gave me an interesting account of his winter life in Kashmír, where he had spent two winters. He used, he said, to wear grass boots to protect his feet from the snow, sometimes living in a *hámám*, or apartment with warm water all round and sometimes carrying about his person a *kángri*, or small case of charcoal fire. The Srinagar lake was frozen nearly all over, and then the wild duck shooting had been capital—twenty birds falling to one shot."

We come next to "A diary of travel in the British portions of Sikkim, between the 6th and 16th May 1875." It is for the most part a continuous record of mist, and cloud, and rain, and

* In the afternoon I went again to bid the Maharája farewell.

washed out flowers. Then there is another Jammu and Kashmir diary for a month in 1871. Then diaries of travel in Sikkim and Nepal. Here is a description of the interior of a Buddhist Chapel of Ease at Tasidang, in Sikkim. (Sir Richard's orthodoxy received a severe shock when he was invited to take tea in a Chapel):—

"The elder chapel, founded by a Lama from Tibet between 200 and 300 years ago, though the actual date is uncertain, has in it a sitting image of Buddha, surrounded by the standing ones of the Bodhisattoas and their Saktis; some of the figures are of wood, and some of terra cotta. The expression of the faces and figures indicates a calmness and devotion that is meant to invite the spectator to grave reflection on things unseen, and the colouring of the robes is harmonious. The frescoes on the walls are illustrations of the punishments in a future state, some of which would be suitable for illustration of Dante's *Inferno*."

Sir Richard visited Népal in May 1876, and in the course of his tour, the administrative rather than the artist eye was brought to bear on what he saw. The Népal valley is fertile.—

"The cultivation of the Népal valley is blessed with unequalled advantages, and is carried on with the utmost industry. In May we found a waving harvest of wheat awaiting the sickle, and I was told that almost all these lands has already yielded an equally good rice harvest within the agricultural year, and that many of the fields would yet yield special crops,—pepper, vegetables, and the like! In short, most of the lands yield two harvests in the year, and some yield even three! The chemical quality of the soil must be excellent, but one special cause of the fertility is the artificial irrigation from the countless streams and streamlets from the neighbouring hills.

The Népal Government, we are told,

"is fond of stating its subject population at five millions of souls, including all the hills and the strip of plains along their southern base; but there are no data for such a statement, which, according to our general knowledge of the Hímalayan regions, must be greatly in excess of the truth. Besides Népal itself, there are valleys in the territory, such as those of Górkhá, Pokrí, and so on, which are well inhabited, and so is a portion of the submontane strip; but with these exceptions the area is very thinly populated. In the trade between Népal and British territory, the former sends articles which either are luxuries or of secondary necessity, whereas she receives either food supply or other necessities—a fact to be noted."

About Goorkha military affairs it is written—

"The army serving with the colours has an effective strength of 20,000 men. We saw 12,000 men reviewed at Káthmándú, but there are irregular troops scattered in the interior; and as the military system is one of very short service, it happens that nearly all the able-bodied men of the whole country have been trained to arms. Under certain circumstances, the military strength represented by 20,000 men might be multiplied many times. In the valley near Káthmándú there are arsenals and magazines, with ordnance, including siege guns, stores, thousands of stands of arms, small arms ammunition, and the like. It is remarkable that for all this they depend on indigenous manufactures,—a circumstance which, however creditable to their patriotism, must detract greatly from the military value of these things."

Sir Richard Temple thinks it probable that—

"Notwithstanding all their merits, and their aptitude for particular sorts of warfare, the Népalí army would be quickly destroyed, if opposed in the open field to a civilized enemy. If the present army of Népal, 20,000 strong, were to be drawn up in the open country adjoining their own Tarái, in front of a small mixed British force of, say 5,000 men, armed and equipped with the newest appliances, and led by a commander who was at once a tactician

and a strategist, they would be routed in a few hours. The fortitude of these mountaineers, and their tincture of foreign discipline, would be of no avail against military skill and science and the resources of modern armament. I mention this latter point because, however absurd the idea may appear to some, the Népâlis imagine that they could hold their own in the hills against the British, and think that they might not improbably be successful in a general contest, and in the event of the British power being shaken, could press onward across the plains of Bengal to the seaboard. Their trust is in their natural fortifications of mountains; their ambition towards the rich plains and the sea-borne commerce.'

Sir Richard's book is furnished with a glossarial index of vernacular terms, &c., and a general index.

The Indian Magazine, May 1887. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

To the May number of the *Indian Magazine* Lady Dufferin contributes an article on the objects aimed at and work done by the National Association for supplying female medical aid to the women of India. The second Annual Report of the Association serves as her Ladyship's text. We are told that

The first Report of the National Association, issued in January 1886, was published only a few months after its organisation, and was rather an account of its establishment than a report of its proceedings.

The Association now numbers amongst its members 30 Life Councillors, or donors of Rs. 5,000 and upwards; and 237 Life Members, or donors of Rs. 500 and upwards. The Report under her Ladyship's consideration

Has to declare how far the Association has been successful in forwarding the objects it was designed to promote; to confess its failures; to set once more before the public its aims and aspirations; to explain the way in which it has endeavoured to carry them out, and to appeal to all those who are interested in the well-being of the women of their country for sympathy and support in the attempt the Association is making to alleviate their misery in sickness, and to spread such knowledge of sanitary matters amongst them as may largely contribute to prevent disease and suffering,

The Committee of the Association has prudently limited expenditure so as to keep it within the bounds of income. But this conscientiousness has involved refusal of assistance in many deserving instances, it seems. Face to face with a statement like that, one cannot help thinking of all the money wasted in fireworks and tinsel during the late Jubilee Celebration; and one cannot help wishing that the Queen knew as much about the necessities and dispositions of the Indian people as Lady Dufferin does.

The Central Committee of the Association has been instrumental in securing the services of six Lady Doctors, who are severally employed at Ulwar, Durbhunga, Calcutta, Lahore, and Agra—two at the latter place. Of Ulwar and Durbhunga as Relief Centres we approve heartily. In the latter district especially there is great opportunity for well-doing and success, provided that operations are not strictly confined to the limits of

the sudder station. We wish that the four other Lady Doctors available had been posted to similar out-of-the way mofussil places instead of to big cities, where women, whether *purda nasheen* or not, easily can, and as a matter of fact do, secure competent medical advice when they stand in need of it. It would have been much better if one of these Lady Doctors had been sent to the Begum of Bhopal, who has asked for one.

Of the Lady Doctors appointed during the year under review, four were educated in Madras, one in America, and one took her degree in Paris, "where she has been practising for the last few years." That seems to us a significant fact; indication that medical talent of a high order will be available for work in Indian zenanas and cottages when the demand for skilled medical service in India on the part of Lady Doctors is better understood in European medical circles.

Money is the great want, the ever present want, the crying want, of this admirable Association. Most of the spendable income of India's rich men would seem to be squandered on more or less debilitating *tamashas*. It is such a pity; such a shame. Etiquette is a great God, and worthy of honor, doubtless. But we must confess that we should like to see a lady of Lady Dufferin's rank and exalted position taking the aristocracy and plutocracy of India roundly to task for their sins of omission instead of suggesting a weak-kneed alternative of this sort.

A. In some places it has been suggested to the Presidents of Local Fund Boards and to the Chairmen of Municipalities that they should set apart a portion of their funds for the support of Female Medical Practitioners; and in many cases the District Boards and Municipal Councils have expressed a desire to contribute a certain sum, or to give so much a year, for this object. Few places, however, have sufficient funds to start a dispensary and to pay for a doctor unaided; and the result, under these circumstances, often is that a great deal of money which different districts are willing to subscribe, provided it can be spent locally, is left unexpended because it cannot be so employed, and the desired good remains undone. If each of these places would send a pupil to one of the Universities, or a couple of nurses to be trained in a hospital; or if they would contribute a part of their proposed subscription to the Branch of their own Province, to be used for the general good, the question of supplying female medical aid to the women of India would advance more quickly. Where a place cannot afford to carry out a plan for its own benefit, it best forwards the desired object by giving its subscription to the Branch or to the Central Fund. Unity of design means strength and progress; and in order that the work of the National Association may succeed, not only our sympathies and our energies, but also our funds, must, to a certain extent, be united.

We note with satisfaction that

A matter in which the Central Committee are deeply interested, and which they are doing their best to forward, is the dissemination of some more general knowledge of sanitary science throughout the country. They feel this to be of the utmost importance; for while medical students must always be few, there is no reason why every woman in India should not understand the danger of bad water, the necessity of fresh air, exercise and cleanliness, and those simple rules for the preservation of her own health and her children's which in all countries and in every household, whether rich or poor, are equally valuable. To make some beginning in this direction, a Primer* has been chosen, which is simple and interesting. It is now being printed in the Vernacular, and it will be at once introduced into

* *The Way to Health*. Published in Madras.

as many schools as possible ; so that during this year a very large number of girls will be learning something which will be of infinite and immediate practical use to them. Little stories with sanitary morals, such as are published by the Sanitary Society in England, are to be written and translated in the hope that they be read in zenanas ; and some cards * on special subjects are being prepared, which can be hung up in houses, and which give short and useful directions for application in urgent and particular cases.

Here is a painfully suggestive paragraph, extracted from comments on the working of the Bengal Branch of the Association :—

A female dispensary was opened in Calcutta, in April 1886, and Mrs. Van Ingen, a Lady Doctor, educated at Madras, was put in charge of it. The experiment is considered to have been successful : a large number of patients have attended, and although but a small percentage of these were purdah women, or were treated for diseases peculiar to women, it is hoped that, with time, the classes for whose benefit the dispensary is more especially intended will learn to profit by the advantages it offers them. Every care is taken to ensure the absolute privacy of patients coming to the dispensary.

It had been arranged that Mrs. Van Ingen's salary should be paid partly by the Bengal Branch and partly by means of a Guarantee Fund supplied by thirteen families, who, in return for the Lady Doctor's services, engaged to contribute an annual sum towards her salary. In practice, this experiment has utterly failed, and the Central Committee cannot recommend its continuance in Calcutta or its repetition in other places. It is very much better that the Branch Committees of the National Association should be entirely responsible for the payment of doctors appointed by them ; and persons interested in the scheme can best further it by unconditional donations to the Branch Funds of their own Province.

The Punjab Branch of the Association has hitherto received only Rs. 15,000—about as much as the Maharajah of Kapurtala or the Maharajah of Jheend would pay for new trappings for a horse or an elephant destined to convey their august persons to some State ceremonial.

Jubilee Dawn in Nizam Hyderabad, 1887. By Dinsháh Arde-shir Táleyárhán. Bombay : Printed and Published at the Bombay Gazette Steam Press, Rampart Row, Fort, 1887.

THIS pamphlet has about as much real connection with the Jubilee as it has with the North Pole, or the man in the moon. It is a would-be condescending attempt to teach H. H. the Nizam, and the British Government how to suck eggs. I have no desire, the author writes—

to speak unfavorably, either of the H. H. the Nizam or his youthful Minister. Should I do so, I might as well stigmatize the growth of a plant for not being as powerful as that of a mature tree. But I do censure some of the leaders and public assemblies of India for their downright neglect of a large State, which its Youthful Ruler is striving hard to keep clear of shoals and rocks. It would hardly be quite equitable to seriously blame the British Government for what is past. The successful conductment of a State is nurtured by many-sided light : the volume of such light, which the public bodies can emit, is not inconsiderable, which, unluckily, has been entirely absent in the present instance. This I desire to supply as far as one individual can do.

* These cards can be bought at the Calcutta Central Press Company, Limited, 5-1, Council House Street, Calcutta.

The "volume of light" Dinshah Ardeshir Taleyárkhan can emit, is "inconsiderable."

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Pisách Sahodar. Part I. Printed by Amrita Lal Mukhopadhyaya at the Great Eden Press, No. 13, Ram Narayan Bhattacharjya's Lane, and Published by Mati Lal De Sarkar, at 14, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, 1808 : Sakabda.

THIS is a historical novel. As a work of fiction it is a failure, but it is not unreadable. Its chief interest is of a historical nature. And the author would therefore have done well if he had written a history of Barendrabhoom, of the time when Azim Oshun, the grandson of Aurangzeb, was Subadar of Bengal. The author seems well acquainted with the history of the leading Barendra families of those days. But in presenting history in the garb of fiction he has greatly mutilated the former. As a story teller the author is not at all interesting or agreeable. Upon every question which interests him, he has written something like small essays which divert the reader's attention from the story. He has, however, shown some skill in the delineation of character. His Indira interests us greatly. She is a model wife, and her quiet way of doing offices of charity to those who come in contact with her, and the resolution and strength of will she displays in times of danger, entitle her to the exalted position of a Rani of Santul. We also take very great interest in the royal brothers Sitanath and Rameswar. The former is a noble-minded prince, anxious in his old age to enjoy that peace and rest without which it is impossible to lead a life of spiritual seclusion. The latter is avaricious of power and prosperity, to obtain which he would not scruple to take away his brother's life and sully the fair fame of his family. The best character in the book is Purnananda, a historical personage, the greatest *Tantric* of Bengal in modern times, and the reputed author of *Shyámarahashya*, a work which still enjoys the highest authority among the Brahmans of Bengal. Purnananda is introduced into the story as 'the guide, philosopher and friend,' of Rameswar. But as soon as Rameswar takes to evil courses, and allies himself with the Musulmans, the enemies of his country, Purnananda deserts him. Purnananda is wholly unconcerned about his own affairs, and his sympathy with other people is of the deepest kind. He is at the service of all who are in distress. The author has endeavoured to follow in the footsteps of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, and, in endeavouring to do so, has blundered egregiously. Babu Bankim Chandra's Debi Chawdhurani is a great student of the *Bhagabatgita*. We therefore find in this book even girls of eight or nine reading that book of books, and dis-